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THE ANGLICAN *VIA MEDIA*

BEING STUDIES IN THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT AND IN THE TEACHING OF THE CAROLINE DIVINES

BY

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
FOREWORD BY BISHOP KNOX		viii
PREFACE		x
	THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT	
CHAP.		
I.	INTRODUCTION	11
II.	THE EUCHARIST	36
III.	THE CHURCH OF ROME	62
IV.	THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY	77
V.	RITUAL USAGE:	
	(*a*) THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC OF 1559	106
	(*b*) THE ADVERTISEMENTS OF 1566	123
	(*c*) THE ORNAMENTS OF THE CHURCH	135
	THE CAROLINE DIVINES	
VI.	THE SCRIPTURES AND THE RULE OF FAITH	145
VII.	THE CHURCH OF ROME	161
VIII.	THE EUCHARIST	168
IX.	THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY	181
INDEX		195

A FOREWORD

THE great value of this book is its patient, detailed and masterly refutation of the fiction that the Elizabethan Settlement of religion was conducted on Tractarian lines.

That such a fiction should have gained currency and established itself in the writings of men who were responsible for the education of the clergy, such men as the late Bishop Gibson, of Gloucester, and the present Bishop of Truro, accounts largely for the present troubles of the Church of England. Clergy trained to read the Book of Common Prayer and the XXXIX Articles under such misconceptions could not fail to regard them as dishonest documents, as attempts to gull the laity of the XVIth century by grossly insincere professions.

On this hypothesis the formularies of the Church of England were intended to produce an impression that the Church of England seriously differed from the Church of Rome on vital questions, when, in fact the differences were as slight as to be almost negligible.

This travesty of history is examined by Dr. Carter, step by step, point by point, with meticulous exactness. It is dragged into the light of contemporary evidence, faced with documents, Acts of Parliament, writings of Elizabethan divines, until its nakedness is thoroughly exposed and has not a rag to cover itself withal.

The work is done so thoroughly that it will not be surprising if no notice is taken of it by Anglo-Catholic writers. But at all events Dr. Carter's book should be a text book in all theological Colleges which aim at

teaching real history. Its appearance at the present crisis is most opportune. A campaign of education is before those who would save our Church from being Romanised. In Dr. Carter's book those who are called on to conduct that campaign will find a trustworthy storehouse of facts collected in reply to the fictions that have been seduously propagated as Church History.

E. A. KNOX,
Bishop.

Shortlands,
November, 1926.

PREFACE

THE following pages comprise a series of Articles contributed to the "Church Quarterly Review" in January, 1924, the "Church Intelligencer" from July, 1924, to January, 1926, to the "English Churchman" from August 12 to September 9, 1926, and to the "Churchman" for October, 1926. They form an historical study on the precise theological and ecclesiastical position of the Elizabethan Reformers and the Caroline divines.

The Church of England to-day is virtually a self-governing body, and is rightly exercising her recently acquired powers to determine the form of doctrine and worship which she considers best suitable to the changing needs and aspirations of her children in this twentieth century. It is surely well therefore that she should make these momentous changes with a full and correct knowledge of her traditional doctrinal position since the issue of her time-honoured Book of Common Prayer. Bishop Talbot, some years ago at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference, publicly asserted that the "Church of England stood midway between Rome and Protestant Christendom," but I venture to think that an impartial study of her history and authoritative teaching during the past 350 years will not justify such a novel contention.

I have endeavoured in the following pages to discuss from contemporary historical documents the precise doctrinal position adopted by the Reformers under Elizabeth, when the English Reformation took on its final and permanent form, and it cannot be seriously

questioned that these records afford very strong evidence of the fact that historically the Anglican Church has stood definitely on the side of the Reformed Churches of Christendom.

Consequently the changes in her liturgy which are now proposed in order to assimilate, to a large degree, her doctrine and worship to Roman standards, will constitute a distinct departure from the clearly expressed teaching of the Elizabethan and Caroline divines. They will mark a very definite dividing line between our position and that of other Protestant Churches both at home and abroad, and consequently will open up a new chapter of serious import in the history of our National Church. As Bishop Moule declared, in 1913, in a slightly different connection, if such proposals become law, "a new epoch of vital importance will enter into her history."

C. S. C.

Clifton,

Advent, 1926.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The Elizabethan Religious Settlement. Was it a Middle Doctrinal Position?

There is considerable evidence to show that a new position has been adopted by many in recent years concerning the character and import of the English Reformation. Theories are being advanced and statements are constantly being made by scholars and historians of repute which, if they can be substantiated, would involve very largely a re-examination and a re-writing of our ecclesiastical history. It is becoming almost a commonplace now to be told that the doctrinal reformation of Edward VIth's reign was carried through by men of extreme Protestant views who were largely under the baneful spell and influence of foreign Reformed divines whose principles were disruptive, if not destructive, of Catholic teaching and practice. The result, we are told, of the sweeping and revolutionary changes then made, as evidenced in the Prayer Book of 1552 and the Forty-Two Articles of 1553, was that the Catholic position of the Church, while not altogether destroyed, was seriously jeopardised. According to this view, the true doctrinal balance was mercifully restored by the more moderate and conservative attitude adopted by the Elizabethan Reformers, who gave to our religious settlement a middle doctrinal position between the extremes of Rome and Geneva, which it has ever since maintained, with, it is true, varying degrees of loyalty. It is alleged that a determined and largely successful attempt was made at this

time by an influential party of English Churchmen, who had during their exile on the Continent come under the sinister influence of foreign Reformed views (mainly Swiss), to overthrow this conspicuously English *via media* position. But the aims and ideals of this party were, it is stated, foreign to the true sentiment of the English Reformed Church and subversive of its true Catholicity; and in the end they were defeated. And although the adherents of this party were still suffered to retain a standing ground within the borders of the National Church they were regarded as largely out of harmony with its position and principles.

Bishop Frere's Statement

Two or three examples, typical of numerous others, will perhaps suffice to illustrate this modern position. Bishop Frere, in describing the Elizabethan religious settlement, states that Elizabeth's religious policy "seemed to have less chance of ultimate victory than either of its rivals—the Marian or the Genevan. To both of these parties a protestant catholicism seemed contemptible . . . because it seemed a mere hybrid that could have no posterity. For the Marian there could be no catholicism without the pope; for the Genevan a protestantism which retained catholic *doctrine* and worship was no better than popery; a brief experience of Edwardine religion had brought each to his own conclusion, and the modification of Edwardine religion which was now put forward satisfied neither, for it sought to place the centre of gravity of English religion in England, while they were alike in locating it abroad."[1]

In this considered statement there are contained, at least by implication, three definite conclusions concerning the course of the English Reformation —

1. That the religion of the "Genevan" party was not "Catholic" either in doctrine or worship.

[1] *Hist. of Eng. Ch.*, p. 51.

2. That at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign there were two rival influences or parties, one clamouring for the Genevan religious settlement and the other for the Marian papal system.

3. That Elizabeth refused to yield to either of them and deliberately chose instead a definitely English settlement—a middle course—here designated as "Protestant Catholicism," which pleased neither party. Similarly Bishop Gibson declares that the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. "marks the extreme limit to which liturgical changes proceeded in England, though, had Edward's reign lasted much longer, it is probable it would have witnessed a still wider departure from ancient usage in matters connected with public worship"[1] In fact, the changes in the 1559 book, together with the verbal alterations in 1563 in Article XXVIII., were of the greatest doctrinal significance. They "amounted," Bishop Gibson asserts, "to a complete change,"[2] and safeguarded the Catholic position of the Anglican Church. Now, although it is largely true, as Bishop Frere remarks, that the religious policy of the day was dependent on the decision of the Queen and her chief adviser, Sir W. Cecil, yet it is obvious that this policy could never have succeeded if it had not received at least very general support. That it was the express aim of the Queen to inaugurate a religious settlement which should be acceptable to the nation is clear from her great solicitude for the cessation of party strife. Lord Keeper Bacon was instructed to warn her Parliament "that no party language was to be kept up in this kingdom, that the names of heretic, schismatic, papist and such like, were to be laid aside and forgotten."[3] At the royal Visitation of 1559, Strype informs us, only 189 of the clergy refused to comply

[1] *First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI.* p. xv. (Everyman's Library).

[2] *Thirty Nine Articles II*, 646.

[3] D'Ewes *Journals of Parl't*, p. 19 and Strype *Annals*, 1-54.

with the Reformed settlement of religion.[1] These were, of course, the Marian clergy who refused to dissemble their convictions and Jewel implies that it was mainly these recusant "mass priests" who furiously opposed the new public worship. "If inveterate obstinacy," he says, "were found anywhere, it was altogether among the priests," but he adds that "the people everywhere were sufficiently well disposed towards religion",[2] that is, of course, to the religious settlement accomplished by Elizabeth. It would seem, therefore, that the royal design had met with very general success, and this is confirmed by the fact that the Commons eagerly passed the Act of Uniformity—a proof that Elizabeth's religious policy had gained the allegiance of at least the majority of the laity.

This would of course only include the more educated and influential section, since the humbler classes in the main followed their lead. "The common sort of the people," said Bishop Horn to Cecil on 29 Aug., 1561, "may easily be brought to conform themselves to the better sort of them in dignity and reputation, as they see them bent to set forward."[3] On the other hand, the approval of at least the majority of the clergy was evident when the Convocation in 1563 rejected the attempts to revise further the new Prayer Book, while the same Convocation gave the Church an authorised doctrinal Confession in the revised "Thirty Nine Articles."

Therefore, if it is correct to assert that the Elizabethan Settlement was in the nature of a *via media* between Rome and Geneva, it follows that there must have been already in existence a central party of Elizabethan

[1] The accuracy of this statement of Strype's based on Camden's "Annals," has been seriously challenged by Dom Birt in his "Elizabethan Religious Settlement." He urges that the evidence points to this estimate being far too low. (*Cf.* p. 440). But see also Gee "Elizabethan Clergy" 214-47.

[2] *Zurich Letters, I.* 39 and 44.

[3] P.R.O. Dom. Eliz. XIX. 36.

churchmen of whom Jewel was a prominent spokesman, whom for convenience' sake we may describe as an "Anglican" party in the then current sense of "ecclesia Anglicana," combating the views and aims of the extremer "Genevan" or exilic party, and being at least willing to maintain a certain measure of traditional Catholic teaching and usage, which could well be described as "Protestant catholicism." Would this, however, prove that the views of such a central party really approximated, at least in the main, to those held by the "Anglo Catholics" to-day?

The Anglican Reformers' Appeal to Antiquity—The Attitude of the Foreign Reformed Churches

It is well here, I think, to remind ourselves very briefly, of the main position consistently taken by English Churchmen, both Edwardine and Elizabethan, in their reformation of religion. Our English Reformers always paid a studious regard to the past history and traditions of the Catholic Church, and never wantonly abandoned any doctrine, or any rite, ceremony or practice in public worship, cherished and hallowed by long usage, unless it conflicted with their foundation principle of loyalty to the written word of God, or with a simple scriptural form of worship. They made a special appeal to antiquity and to the purity of teaching and practice which prevailed in Apostolic and primitive times. They were scrupulously anxious, wherever possible, to do nothing, as Cranmer expressed it, which is not "agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers."[1] This was their guiding principle in relation to ritual and ceremonial usage. They fearlessly declared that many of the ancient ceremonies "had blinded the people and obscured the glory of God," and, therefore, were "clean rejected and cut away," since ceremonies,

[1] *Concerning the Service of the Church*, P.B.

however ancient and reverenced, "are not to be esteemed equal to God's law." But, at the same time, they were determined to "retain," and not "abolish," those ceremonies which should be "reverenced for their antiquity," since they promoted "a decent order and godly discipline."[1]

It is often too hastily assumed that this appeal to antiquity, and this respect for past Catholic usage, which was an outstanding feature of the Anglican Reformation, was peculiar to it; and that the Continental Reformers gloried, on the other hand, in a complete breach with all the old historical and traditional institutions, customs and rites of Catholic Christendom. There would seem, however, to be little, if any, justification for such an assumption as regards the Lutheran Churches, and, although in relation to worship and ceremony the Reformed or Calvinistic Churches may have more justly incurred this stricture, yet it would be a mistake to suppose that any of the foreign reformers altogether disregarded the claims and sanctions of historic Christianity. They give the same reverence to the teaching of the Fathers and the decisions of General Councils, as their Anglican brethren. But with them they emphasise the supreme authority of Holy Scripture. The "Former Confession of Helvetia" (Art. 3) declares "We do not only receive them (the Holy Fathers) as interpreters of Scripture, but reverence them as the beloved instruments of God." "We likewise teach that the writings of the holy doctors, especially of those that are ancient, are also to be esteemed for true and profitable. . . . Yet only in those things wherein they agree with holy scripture" ("Confession of Bohemia," chap. I.).

"We willingly receive," says the "Belgic Confession" Sect. 9 "those three Creeds, and, similarly, whatever has been established by the old Fathers according to the meaning of those Creeds." "We

[1] *Of Ceremonies*, P.B.

confess," affirms the "Confession of Wurtemburg," (chap. 34), "that Councils ought to have their judgments in the Church concerning the holy doctrine of religion and that the authority of lawful councils is great; but the authority of God's Word must needs be greatest." The contention of the more extreme Puritans, that it is unlawful to use any rite or ceremony not expressly enjoined in Scripture, or that "Scripture ought to be the only rule of our actions, and, consequently, Church orders which we observe, being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasant to God,"[1] was distinctly condemned by Calvin, who declares that "In outward discipline and ceremonies Christ would not particularly prescribe what we should do because He foresaw that would depend upon the different conditions of times, and He did not judge one form agreeable to all ages."[2] "I do not contend," he affirms, "about ceremonies which serve only for decency and order, nor yet against such as are either symbols of, or incitements to, that reverence which we owe to God." The learned Joseph Bingham, in his instructive comparison of the French and English Reformed Churches, not only gives abundant evidence that "in most things they are agreed,"[3] but points out that the French Church was most strict in its discipline and as insistent on the retention of the ancient customs, ceremonies and practices of the Church as the English. He cites their enforcement of such Catholic practices as kneeling at public prayers, the laying on of hands in ordination, the use of a public liturgy, the recitation of the Apostles' and the acceptance of the Athanasian Creed, and the delivery of the Sacrament by the minister into the hands of the communicants with the use of a special form of words; besides their commendation of the ancient custom of

[1] Hooker *Eccles. Pol*, Pref. VII., 3.
[2] *Institutes* Bk. IV. ch. x. 30.
[3] *Apology of the French Ch, &c*, Preface XI.

sponsors in baptism and the observances of the great festivals of the Catholic Church. Bingham also demonstrates from the express statements of her representative divines that the French Church fully accepted the testimony of the Fathers to the ancient and primitive institution of episcopacy, and would have willingly received it had circumstances rendered it possible. The Synod of Tonniens (1614) declared that differences in Church government should not "hinder mutual agreement in the same faith and doctrine" between Churches, and "as a pledge of this mutual concord the Lord's Supper shall be celebrated, wherein the pastors from England and the other nations shall all mutually communicate together" (Cap. 18, Act. 7). Peter du Moulin also declares "our adversaries unjustly accuse us to be enemies of the episcopal order. For we must be altogether ignorant of history if we do not know that antiquity speaks honourably of that degree . . . we condemn not the episcopal order in itself, but speak only of the corruption which the Church of Rome has induced into it,"[1] while Daillé even allowed episcopacy to be "good and lawful and *established by the Apostles, according to the commandment of Christ* in the Churches which they founded."[2]

But to return to our original question. We are concerned in this inquiry with the distinctively doctrinal aspect of the Elizabethan Settlement, and on this ground we have to ask further, what evidence is there from contemporary sources for the deliberate adoption of this *via media* doctrinal position, and for the existence of this distinctively "Anglican" party supporting it? Apart from the important controversial issues involved in this question, primarily it is one of historical fact and documentary evidence, and it is as such that I wish to consider it. For it is surely of no inconsiderable importance, simply

[1] *Buckler of Faith*, 345, London, 1631.
[2] Bingham, *Works VIII.*, 212 (1829).

from the standpoint of the historian, to discover from contemporary and original sources of information if, or in what sense, such a position as this which is claimed for the English Reformation can be justified.

Comparison of the Edwardine and Swiss Doctrinal Settlements

I think it will be agreed that an answer to this question is to be found mainly in an unprejudiced and careful study of the *doctrinal* side of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement in two or three of its chief aspects. Did it, for instance, represent a peculiar and special position of its own in its teaching and practice on the Sacraments, the church and ritual usage? It would seem necessary, however, in short preliminary way, to examine how far the doctrinal standard of the Edwardine Reformers approximated to the model of Geneva. In examining this question we need to bear in mind the fact of the progress of the views of prominent church leaders during this reign towards the Reformed position. There is, for instance, definite evidence, at its commencement, that Cranmer's opinions on the Eucharist approximated more towards the Lutheran than the Reformed position. Several eminent foreign Reformed divines came to England at this time, and were most hospitably received and entertained by the prominent English church dignitaries, and from their correspondence with their friends on the Continent we are kept informed of the progress of the Anglican Reformation. Thus, in August, 1548, John ab Ulmis writes to the celebrated Swiss divine, Henry Bullinger, informing him that Cranmer " has lately published a Catechism, in which he has not only approved that foul and sacrilegious transubstantiation of the Papists in the holy supper of our Saviour, but all the dreams of Luther seem to him sufficiently well founded, perspicuous and

lucid."[1] There is little doubt that this is an extravagant statement based on hearsay evidence. For a careful perusal of "Cranmer's Catechism," proves that the Archbishop had been careful to amend Justus Jonas' work so that it did not teach even Lutheran doctrine. Ulmis, however, soon discovered his false estimate of Cranmer, since only four months later he writes again telling Bullinger that "the bishops entertain right and excellent opinions respecting the holy supper of Jesus Christ." "That abominable error and silly opinion of a carnal eating has been *long since* banished and entirely done away with." This change of views is confirmed by a letter written on December 31st, 1548, by Bartholomew Traheron to Henry Bullinger giving him information concerning a four days' public debate which had been held that month in London on the subject of the Eucharist by the bishops under the presidency of Protector Somerset. "The Archbishop of Canterbury," he assures Bullinger, "*contrary to general expectation*, most openly, firmly, and learnedly maintained your opinion upon the subject. Next followed the Bishop of Rochester (Ridley), who handled the subject with so much eloquence, perspicuity, erudition and power, as to stop the mouth of that most zealous papist, the Bishop of Worcester (Heath). I perceive that it is all over with Lutheranism, now that those who were considered its principal and almost only supporters, have altogether come over to our side."[2] A record of this "Great Parliamentary Debate" has been preserved[3] by which we learn that it was concerned with the three questions (1) The Real Presence, (2) Whether evil men receive the Body of Christ, (3) Transubstantiation, and that Cranmer and the other Reforming Bishops argued against all three tenets.

"They be two things," said Cranmer, "to eat the

[1] *Original Letters*, 381.
[2] *Ibid*, 383 and 323.
[3] MS. Reg. 17 B. XXXIX.

Sacrament and to eat the body of Christ. The eating of the body is to dwell in Christ, and this may be though a man never taste the Sacrament. All men eat not the body in the Sacrament" (Fol. 3a.) "I believe that Christ is eaten with heart, the eating with our mouth cannot give us life, for then should a sinner have life" (Fol. 15a). We have Cranmer's own confession that his views on the Eucharist changed before this time. "Not long before I wrote the said Catechism," he declares, "I was in that error of the Real Presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors as of Transubstantiation"[1]. Cranmer was thus evidently staunch in his adherence to the Reformed views of the Sacrament even before the issue of the 1549 Prayer Book, and Hooper told Bullinger at the close of the year "The Archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper . . . he has some articles of religion to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, and in these his sentiments respecting the Eucharist are pure and religious and similar to yours in Switzerland."[2] The publication in 1550 by Cranmer of his treatise on the "Lord's Supper" left no further room for doubt that he had definitely espoused the position which was practically identical with that held by Calvin and Bullinger on this crucial question. "The very body of the tree, or rather, the roots of the weeds, is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the real presence of Christ's *flesh and blood* in the sacrament of the altar (as they call it) and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest, for the salvation of the quick and dead."[3] The Forty Two Articles of 1553, drawn up largely by Cranmer, also in their eucharistic teaching follow the Reformed rather than the Lutheran Confessions of Faith.

[1] *Works I.* 374.
[2] *Original Letters* 72.
[3] *Works I.*, 6.

Differences in Worship and Ceremonies

But although there is such full proof that in eucharistic *doctrine* the Edwardine reformation looked to Switzerland for its affinities, there was not the same identity of views regarding worship and ceremonies. Calvin, Bullinger, and even Bucer, had taken great exception to the remnants of "popish superstition" left in the 1549 Prayer Book, and while the 1552 Book was far more warmly received, events soon proved that it by no means altogether escaped the censures of Calvin and some of the Swiss Reformers, or even fully satisfied the scruples of the more extreme English Protestants. The "Troubles at Frankfort," which reveal to us the inner history of the quarrels of the English exiles on the Continent during the Marian reaction, furnish sufficient evidence of the division which arose between the "Prayer Book" party, who were determined to adhere to the order of the 1552 Book, and the "Puritan" party who had made very considerable alterations in it, declaring that it "was filled with many absurdities and silly superfluities."[1] We learn from it also that the sympathy of Calvin was with the latter rather than the former. This need not, however, concern us further than to note that these unseemly squabbles did not affect doctrine but questions of discipline and minor ceremonies. They created no breach whatever between the doctrinal outlook of the Anglican and the Swiss Reformers. We have full proof of this in the fact that Dr. Cox, who was the protagonist of the "Prayer Book" party in opposition to the "Puritan" party led by John Knox, had been eulogistically described by John ab Ulmis to Henry Bullinger in 1548 as one who "entertains and expresses most excellent and correct notions respecting every article of the Christian Faith."[2] Moreover, both parties

[1] *Zurich Letters*, 270.
[2] *Original Letters*, 384.

in this ceremonial dispute appealed to the judgment of Calvin; the Prayer Book advocates declaring that Calvin's "authority is and ought to be most highly esteemed and regarded not only by themselves but by the world at large."[1] Further, just before their return to England they also admitted that "all the Reformed Churches differ among themselves in divers Ceremonies and yet agree in the unity of doctrine."[2]

Did the Elizabethan Reformers Modify the Edwardine Religion?

We are now in a better position to discuss the implications involved in such statements as those of Bishop Frere and Bishop Gibson quoted above. We may say that, in the first instance, they practically involve a consideration of the question—Was the doctrinal position and outlook of the Elizabethan Reformers identical with that of the Edwardine? We have seen that the doctrinal outlook of the Edwardine Reformers was substantially that of Geneva and Zurich. Was this position maintained by the Elizabethan religious settlement? It is asserted that there was at this time a "Genevan" party of English churchmen, composed of the Marian exiles, who wished to place "the centre of gravity of English religion abroad." In considering this statement it is necessary to make a clear discrimination. If the term "English religion," employed here, merely denotes worship and ceremony, then there is no question that there was at this time a considerable party of exiles, even including such moderate men as Bishop Sandys and Dean Nowell, who were desirous of going beyond the Edwardine settlement on these questions, and bringing English ceremonial more completely into line with that of the Swiss Reformed Churches. Such an attempt was

[1] *Original Letters*, 753.
[2] *Troubles at Frankfort* 225.

deliberately made both in the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation in 1563 but it was defeated (by one vote only) by what, on this question, may be correctly described as a central "Anglican" party, who as Strype declares, "stood for King Edward's Reformation without changes," "reckoning the wisdom, learning and piety of Cranmer, Ridley and the other reformers of the Church, to be equal every way with those of the foreign Reformers."[1] But the language quoted above distinctly includes *doctrine* as well as worship; and we have, therefore, to examine what evidence there is of the existence of a central party of definitely "Anglican" Reformers who, in spite of the opposition of the band of the "Genevan" exiles, succeeded in so modifying the welcomed Edwardine doctrinal standard that it became on important questions definitely "catholic" and fundamentally different from that of the Continental Reformed Churches.

Bishop Gibson asserts that this "modification" amounted to a "complete change." Let us notice particularly in what it consisted. In this connection it is not unimportant to observe that the Act of Uniformity (1559), enforcing the Elizabethan Prayer Book differed from its two Edwardine predecessors in omitting all reference to the work of a committee of Revision having prepared for and preceded the enactment of a special liturgy by Parliament. There is, in fact, no sufficient evidence that any such committee of revision ever sat.

It is true that an anonymous "Device for the Alteration of Religion" had been sent to Sir W. Cecil suggesting such a committee and even naming eight members, the majority of whom had been exiles, to take part in it, but the fact that there is no record of its meetings or any reference to its proposals in the Elizabethan Act is fairly strong evidence that at any rate no *official* action of this sort was ever taken.

[1] *Annals I.*, 338.

Strype's statements to the contrary ("Annals" I., 82) are mere conjectures, based on a paper of "Explanations" which Guest sent to Sir W. Cecil "before he was bishop." They do, however, seem to point to some unofficial suggestions or schemes of revision with which Guest was closely associated. For in this paper of "Explanations" Guest offers a defence or apology for what he calls a "new service" which he hopes the "Parliament will enact with one voice."[1] These "Explanations" would seem also to furnish very good evidence that a suggestion had been made in some quarter to restore the Prayer Book of 1549. In any case a Committee such as Strype imagines to have sat, would certainly, from its composition, have opposed any revision of a reactionary character calculated to alienate English Churchmen in any way from their brethren on the Continent. In the end the Act, 1 Eliz., cap 2, as appears from a reference to it, as the first legal item in our present Prayer Book, re-enacted the (1552) "Book authorised by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth, with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two Sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the Communicants, and none other or otherwise." We must, therefore seek to discover, as far as the Liturgy is concerned, this "modification of Edwardine religion" amounting to a "complete change" in these three alterations.

The Changes in the 1559 Prayer Book and Their Significance

Did any of them, in fact, involve any departure from the doctrinal outlook of the Edwardine Reformers? It can scarcely be contended that a slight alteration in the Lectionary possessed any very serious doctrinal significance. In any case the alteration was in a

[1] Cardwell *Hist. of Conferences*, 54.

Protestant direction since it excluded all (Sunday) lessons from the Apocrypha. The deleted petition from the Litany for " deliverance from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," had not been inserted during the Edwardine Reformation, but by Henry VIII. as a political, rather than a religious, plank in his repudiation of Papal claims, and since the same repudiation was quite as strongly expressed in the accompanying Act of Supremacy (1559) no doctrinal significance was involved in the removal of this invidious denunciatory petition from a book of devotion. There remains, therefore, only the third alteration—the sentences added to the words of administration of the Sacrament. It is often urged that the combination of the " words of delivery " used in the 1549 Book with those used in the 1552 Book, which was now effected by the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, constituted a change in Eucharistic doctrine in the direction of the Lutheran, as opposed to the Reformed teaching on the Sacrament.

It is contended that the addition of the prayer, " The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life " is capable of being interpreted as a return to the mediæval teaching concerning the " Real Presence." It is difficult, however, to place so much meaning on the addition of these words, *since they are immediately followed* by the injunction " Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving," which here seems designed as a sort of explanation of the previous petition. In any case this small change in the devotional language of the Communion service from that of 1552 can hardly " have placed the centre of gravity of English religion " at home rather than at Geneva, since even stronger devotional expressions are used in liturgies avowedly drawn from a Calvanistic source! It was the untiring endeavour of the Puritan party to

bring the English Church into complete harmony with the Swiss Reformed in discipline as well as doctrine, and yet in the Puritan or Middleburgh Prayer Book of 1584, drawn originally from Calvin's Genevan Liturgy, the words of administration were "Take and eat, this bread *is* the body of Christ that was broken for us."[1] Similarly in the Prayer Book drawn up by Richard Baxter, and presented to the Savoy Conference in 1661, the rubric directed the Minister to say, "Behold the sacrificed Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." "Take ye, eat ye, This is the Body of Christ which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of Him."[2] It is impossible, therefore, to imagine that the inclusion of the formula of administration from the 1549 Prayer Book could have been in any way objectionable to the doctrinal view of the "Genevan" or "exilic" party of Churchmen, even though the Queen or Council might have possibly introduced it in the hope of placating Lutheran opinions. As regards these three clearly specified alterations, therefore, there seems a singular want of evidence denoting any change of doctrinal significance from the 1552 book, and certainly none to justify Dr. Frere's description of the Elizabethan liturgy as a "transformed Edwardine Book" and a "deliberately balanced compromise."

The Black Rubric. Reasons for its Non-inclusion

There was, however, one other difference in the statutory Prayer Book of 1559 from the liturgy in force at the death of Edward VI. This latter book had contained a statement inserted at the conclusion of the Communion Service explaining that nothing superstitious or idolatrous was intended in the custom of kneeling for the reception of the Sacrament, which has been commonly termed the "Black Rubric." It declared that no adoration "was intended or ought

[1] *Liturgiæ Reliquiæ* p. 60. (Bath 1847)
[2] Parker *Hist of Revisions*, lxxvii.

to be done" either "unto the Sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's Natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the Sacramental bread and wine they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. And as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is against the truth of Christ's true natural body to be in more places than one at one time." This declaration had been inserted in response to the complaints of the more extreme Reformers, led by John Knox, *after the* 1552 *Book had been passed by Parliament*, by a Royal Proclamation and Order in Council. But as Elizabeth's Act only restored the Edwardine Book "authorised by Parliament," this "Black Rubric" was not included, as it had never formed part of the *statutory Prayer Book* of 1552. We have not, therefore, to account for its *omission*, but rather to discover, if possible, whether any change of doctrinal outlook was in any way responsible for its not being now for the first time legally inserted in the new Prayer Book. It should not be overlooked in this connection that in the proposed "new service Book" which Guest defends to Cecil (see above) kneeling at the reception of the Communion is left optional, and thus no "Declaration on Kneeling" would be required. It is true that this proposal was not adopted by Parliament, but as there was at this time strong opposition to the practice of kneeling, it may be that those opposed to the custom thought that some such compromise would be adopted before long, in which case it would be superfluous to incorporate the Black Rubric in the revived Edwardine Book. How strong was this feeling became apparent in 1563 when a proposal to make kneeling at Communion optional was only rejected in Convocation by one vote.

More probably, however, the inaction of Parliament on this question was occasioned by the almost certain expectation that the revival of the 1552 Book would be soon followed by the revival of the Forty-Two Articles of 1553, and the doctrinal teaching and language of the XXVIIIth of these Articles, concerning "the real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament," was practically identical with that employed in the "Declaration on Kneeling." We will discuss later the significance of the alteration of the language of this Article[1] when the Thirty-Eight were issued in 1563. There is no positive evidence whatever to show that the non-enactment of the Black Rubric by the Elizabethan Reformers implied any rejection of the doctrinal position expressed by it. On the contrary we possess the testimony of Bishops' Grindal and Horn that its teaching, as an explanation of the practice of kneeling, was "most diligently declared published and impressed upon the people."[2] The Black Rubric had declared that "Christ's natural body" was "in heaven and not here, and could not be in more places than one at one time," and therefore "no adoration was to be done to any real or essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood" in the Sacrament; and surely the doctrinal implication of this language is equivalent to the statement contained in Article IV. that "Christ. . . with all things pertaining to the perfection of man's nature . . .

[1] The Articles are stated in their title to have been "agreed upon . . . . in the year 1562," which, however, is "old style"; for the original subscription says that the Bishops signed on January 29, "In the year of our Lord, according to the computation of the Church of England, 1562," by which the year was taken to begin on the Annunciation, March 25. Hence the true date of the Articles in our "new style" is 1563. When "put forth by the Queen's authority" later in the same year, they were reduced in number to thirty-eight, by the arbitrary suppression of Article XXIX., but this was restored to its rightful position in 1571.

[2] *Zurich Letters*, 180.

ascended into heaven and there *sitteth* until he return to judge all men at the last day." There was not the slightest suggestion of changing this Article in 1563. We may surely claim also that we get a good indication of the Reformers' view of the manner of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament from the Rubric for the "Communion of the sick" (which was unaltered in the Elizabethan Prayer Book) where the penitent sick person is instructed that if he truly believes in the death of Christ "he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health although he do not receive the Sacrament with his mouth."

"Words of Delivery" a Prayer

It is also forgotten that the restoration in 1559 of the 1549 "words of delivery" in the Communion Service had a distinct, even if indirect, bearing on this question of kneeling at the reception of the Sacrament, since it enabled prominent Elizabethan churchmen to regard the practice as the natural attitude requiring no special explanation or apology. Cranmer had argued against John Knox in October, 1552 (who opposed the custom) that since "the receiving of the Sacrament" was both preceded and followed by prayers, in which the people joined *kneeling*, it was most reverent to continue the same posture for the reception.[1]

But in the 1552 Prayer Book the "sentences" were in the nature of a command or injunction, and thus Cranmer's plea was far more forcible when the 1549 sentences, which *in themselves were prayers*, were restored. It was on this view of the "words of delivery" as a prayer, that the Elizabethan divines justified the practice, and propriety of kneeling. For Archbishop Whitgift, in answering Cartwright, calls the words of administration "a godly prayer," and therefore declares kneeling to be "the meetest manner of receiving the

[1] *State Papers Domestic Edw. VI.* Vol. xv. No. 15.

sacrament. . . being commonly used in praying and giving of thanks, both which are annexed to this sacrament, and are to be required in the communicants."[1] Bishop Andrewes also asks "What other gesture is to be used by those *who are praying* than of supplication?"[2] A little later Bishop Wren describes the words of delivery as "a proper prayer and of blessing, whereby it is a sufficient reason why everyone should kneel when they receive."[3]

Again when the House of Lords appointed a Committee of divines to consider "Innovations in doctrine and discipline" in 1641 it was suggested "Whether it will not be fit to insert a rubrick touching kneeling at the communion that is to comply in all humility with the *prayer* the minister makes when he delivers the elements?"[4] Similarly in 1661 at the Savoy Conference the Bishops, in replying to the "Exceptions of the Ministers" on this very point declared "the posture of kneeling best suits at the Communion as the most convenient . . . since standing at prayers hath been left generally and kneeling used instead of that, *now* to stand at communion when we kneel at prayers were not decent."[5] There is therefore no indication that the failure to incorporate the 1552 statutory "Declaration on kneeling" into the Elizabethan Prayer Book was due to any special design, and certainly to none with any doctrinal import.

It is exceedingly difficult, therefore, to understand the grounds for Bishop Frere's statement that by the non-inclusion of the Black Rubric in the 1559 Prayer Book "the whole doctrinal level of the restored book was altered." It would certainly not be easy to discover any confirmation of this assertion from the teaching of

[1] *Works* III., 98 & 89.
[2] Cosin *Works* V., 113.
[3] Jacobson *Fragmentary Illustrations of B. C. P.*, 82.
[4] Cardwell *Hist. of Conferences*, 275.
[5] Cardwell, *u.s.*, 350.

contemporary churchmen. For instance, Hooker practically repeats the language of the Black Rubric when he declares, "If His majestical body have now any such new property, by force whereof it may everywhere really even in substance present itself, or may at once be in many places, then hath the Majesty of His estate extinguished the verity of His Nature."[1] We have evidence also that the High Church Caroline divines of the next century did not regard the omission of this "Declaration" as affecting the doctrinal level of the Prayer Book. L'Estrange in perplexity inquires, "How, by whom, or upon what account, this excellent rubric, anciently called 'a protestation touching the gesture of kneeling,' came to be omitted in Queen Elizabeth's liturgy, I cannot determine, and would gladly learn."[2]

Again the bishops at the Savoy Conference when petitioned by the Puritans for its restoration, raised no objection to its *doctrinal teaching*, but argued for its needlessness on the ground that the "world is now more in danger of profanation than of idolatry. Besides the sense of it is declared sufficiently in the XXVIIIth Article of the Church of England."[3]

It was, however, restored in the 1662 Book with the slight verbal alteration, rendered necessary by the change in controversial theological terminology, of the words "real and essential" to "corporal." The Reformers had meant by the term "Real Presence" "Corporal" Presence, since Cranmer distinctly admits that "the force, the grace, the virtue, the benefit of Christ's body that was crucified for us, and of His blood that was shed for us be really and effectually present with all them that duly received the Sacraments; but all this I understand of His spiritual presence . . . . No more

[1] *Works* II., 234 (Keble).
[2] *Alliance of Divine Offices*, 329. A.C.L.
[3] Cardwell *Hist. of Conferences*, 354.

truly is He *corporally* or *really* present in the due ministration of the Lord's Supper than He is in the due administration of baptism" ("Works" Preface 3). Evidently what they had denied was this "*realem et corporalem*" Presence described in Article XXIX (1553); and the new phrase in the rubric of 1662, "any corporal Presence," was sufficient to guard against this. Dean Aldrich makes this point clear when writing in 1687, he says "The Protestants in King Henry VIIIth's time that suffered upon the Six Articles denied the Real Presence (i.e. in the Popish sense of it), but meant the same thing with us who think we may lawfully use that term."[1]

It would seem, therefore, more correct to assert that the few changes in the revived Prayer Book of 1552, instead of establishing, to use Bishop Frere's description, a "Protestant catholicism," objectionable to the rival "Marian" and "Genevan" parties of English churchmen had not altered in any way the doctrinal outlook of the Elizabethan from that of the Edwardine Prayer Book. Further, if there was, as is implied, a definitely Anglican party striving to place "the centre of gravity of English religion in England," in contradistinction to the foreign Reformed teaching, we may safely affirm that the revision of the Prayer Book showed no trace of its influence.

It is certainly not easy to reconcile with such an hypothesis the fact that the divines chosen by authority to defend the Elizabethan Reformed position against the Marian bishops at the Westminster Disputation in 1559 belonged, with the exception of Edmund Guest, to this "Genevan" or exilic party; while it is at least singular that those appointed to preach at Court and at St. Paul's Cross during the first years of the reign were also, with the exception of the Primate, almost entirely the clergy who had been in exile!

[1] *Reply to Two Discourses* p. 17 (1689).

Anglican Doctrinal Harmony with the Swiss Churches

Moreover, the Anglican doctrinal position was apparently still in perfect accord with that of the French and Swiss Reformed Churches, for Bishop Jewel wrote triumphantly to Peter Martyr, at the time, "We do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth" while Bishop Horn told Bullinger, *after* the articles had been revised, "We have throughout England the same ecclesiastical doctrine as yourselves"[1] That this protestation of agreement was no vain boast was apparent on the publication in 1562 of Bishop Jewel's famous "Apology of the Church of England." Jewel had written this defence of the Anglican religious settlement at the special request of Archbishop Parker, and it received the approval of the Queen and Convocation, and thus was practically regarded as an authoritative vindication of the English Reformation. It also fully satisfied the Swiss Reformers, Peter Martyr telling Jewel that it "appeared to Bullinger, Gualter and Wolfius, so wise, admirable and eloquent, that they think nothing in these days hath been set forth more perfectly."[2] It was also at this time that the eminent French Reformed divine Beza, in dedicating his New Testament to Queen Elizabeth, declared: "You, O Queen, and your people by your means, enjoy what perhaps no other Kingdom does, the complete profession of the pure and sincere doctrine of the Gospel."[3]

Again it is difficult to see in what material respect the Anglican "centre of gravity in religion" differed from the foreign Reformed, in its doctrinal standards, when we remember that, at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign Peter Martyr was earnestly solicited by the Archbishops and Bishops to return to England and take up his former office of Professor in Divinity at Oxford, while, at the same time, they made an Order

[1] *Zurich Letters I.* 100 and 135.
[2] *Ibid I.* 339.
[3] Bingham *Works VIII.* 97.

to provide from their own revenues a fund to support learned foreign divines as readers in divinity in the universities.[1] As late as 1586 we find that amongst "the articles agreed on by the bishops of the Canterbury Convocation for the increase of learning in inferior ministers," was an order that every beneficed clergyman under the degree of master of arts and not licensed as a public preacher, should provide himself with a copy of Bullinger's "Decades" (or sermons on the chief points of the Christian faith), and read over one sermon each week, noting the chief matters in a paper book, which was to be shown to some preacher each quarter."[2] It is obvious that the ecclesiastical authorities must have been thoroughly satisfied that the writings of this celebrated foreign Reformed Divine were fully in harmony with the Anglican doctrinal position, or they would not have selected his theological treatises for such a purpose.

If, therefore as Bishop Frere asserts, the Genevan or Swiss religion was not Catholic in doctrine, then with this fully avowed complete unanimity between the two, the Elizabethan obviously merits the same stricture! The Edwardine Reformers, however, had, as Canon Dixon well observes, "Never wearied of declaring themselves Catholics"[3] and certainly their Elizabethan successors were no less insistent on this claim. Bishop Horn, the leading official protagonist of the Reformed party at the "Westminster Disputation," stoutly maintained "We have for our mother the true and Catholic Church of Christ . . we do reverence her judgment, and obey her authority as becometh children. . . we never departed, neither from the doctrine of God, which is contained in the holy canonical scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and Catholic Church of Christ."[4]

[1] See Strype's *Annals*, I., 255.
[2] *Bullinger's Decades*, *V.* xxix.
[3] *Hist. of Ch. of Eng. IV.* 222.
[4] Cardwell *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 55.

Chapter II

THE EUCHARIST.

Let us now consider the evidence for the *via media* position alleged to have been adopted by the Elizabethan religious settlement, in its relation to the Eucharist. This question was undoubtedly the main battle ground round which nearly all the controversies of the Reformation period were waged. Is there any evidence that a hypothetical "Anglican" party succeeded at this time in imposing on the Reformed Church a distinctive position between Rome and Geneva on this crucial question? We have already discussed the import of the addition of a sentence in the words of administration in the Holy Communion service in the 1559 Prayer Book, and seen that it does not of itself give sufficient evidence of an intentional change of doctrinal significance. It has, however, been strongly urged that such was the effect of the alterations made in the revision of the XLII. Articles in 1562 (1563 new style), which were then reduced by Convocation to thirty-nine. Besides minor alterations or additions, seven of the XLII. Articles of 1553 were omitted at this time and four new ones were added, one of which, however, Article XXIX., although passed by convocation was deliberately omitted afterwards, (probably by the Queen's orders), from the published book. It was re-inserted at the further revision in 1571.

Was there Doctrinal Significance in the Alteration in Article XXVIII?

Most of the changes thus made were quite unimportant doctrinally, but it is asserted that the alteration in the

wording of Article XXVIII. on "the Lord's Supper" was of the greatest significance, as it safeguarded for the Anglican Church the true Catholic doctrine on the subject, as opposed to Roman teaching on the one hand and to Continental Reformed on the other.

Thus we are told that "Article XXVIII. underwent changes of the first magnitude" in 1562[1] while Bishop Gibson strongly confirms this when he says, "There can be little doubt that in 1552 and 1553 the formularies of the Church in this country were (to say the least) intended to be acceptable to those who sympathised with the Swiss school of Reformers in regard to the Eucharist, and who held that the Presence was merely figurative. But happily the accession of Elizabeth. . . brought with it a return to wiser counsels and a great and marked change in the language of our formularies. . . . Whereas in the latter years of Edward the VIth's reign the formularies had seemed to exclude the doctrine of the real Presence and to incline to Zwinglianism, they were now (at the lowest estimate) patient of a Catholic interpretation, and contained nothing under cover of which the Zwinglianising party could honestly shelter themselves." And then he goes on to make the amazing statement (considering who were the main authors of the Reformed Anglican Prayer Book and Articles) that "The opinions of the Edwardian Reformers, such as Cranmer and Ridley, on the subject of the Holy Communion have nothing *more than an historical interest* for us. Destructively they performed a task for which we owe them a great debt; in courageously attacking the mediæval teaching on transubstantiation. But the positive character impressed upon the Articles in regard to Eucharistic doctrine is not theirs: nor have their writings any claim to be regarded even as an *expositio contemporanea* of formularies which in their present form belong to a time when much greater

[1] Kidd *Thirty Nine Articles*, p. 227.

respect was shown to the ancient teaching of the church "[1]

Before examining in detail the precise alteration in the Article (28) which has occasioned this surprising statement I think we may fairly say that such language justifies the expectation of discovering very general and considerable evidence of a decided change in the Eucharistic teaching of the Elizabethan Reformers from that of the Edwardine. There are two or three sources extant where we should naturally look for an expression of this altered opinion, even before the revision of the Articles in 1563. For early in 1559, owing to the slanderous accusations of the Papists, that the Reformed were "Fallen from the doctrine of the Catholic Church," were "subtil sectaries and dissented among themselves, every man nourishing and maintaining his peculiar opinion"; a "Declaration of doctrine" was put forth by the Protestants and presented to the queen. It was, Strype asserts, drawn up by "Sandys and the rest of the divines concerned now about the preparing of the Book of Common Prayer," and was sent to Archbishop Parker for his signature. Sandys had written to Parker to advise him of this undertaking. "We are forced," he says, "through the vain bruits of the lying papists, to give up a confession of our own faith, to show forth the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and to declare that we dissent not among ourselves, this labour we have now in hand and purpose to publish it as soon as the parliament is ended."[2] At the conclusion of this confession of Faith they declare that "They have not swerved from the doctrine of Christ's Catholic church" and although in their Declaration they have not "precisely observed" "the words, sentences, and orders of certain godly Articles by authority set forth in the time of King Edward of famous memory . . . yet in altering,

[1] *Articles* II., 645-7.
[2] *Parker's Corresp.*, 66.

augmenting or diminishing, adding or omitting, we do neither improve, not yet recede from any of the said Articles, *but fully consent unto the whole*, as to a most true and sound doctrine grounded upon God's word, and refer ourselves unto such Articles there as in our Confession, for shortness sake we have omitted."[1]

Parker's Eleven Articles

It is at least singular that such a thorough and particular endorsement of the doctrinal teaching of the XLII. Articles should be publicly affirmed by the leading Reformed clergy when only four years later they are alleged to have accepted, if not made, doctrinal changes "of the first magnitude" in this very same Confession of Faith?[2] Moreover, we have evidence of an even more official character as to the doctrinal teaching of th Reformed bishops at this time. For in the interval before the publication of the XXXVIII. Articles of 1563, Archbishop Parker with the concurrence and approval of the other bishops, had compiled and issued in 1561 a series of Eleven Articles for the "Unity of Doctrine" which were to be "taught and held" and publicly read by all "parsons, vicars and curates" not only on admission to their cures, but twice every year. There is no trace in these Articles of any change in Eucharistic doctrine, on the other hand the one dealing with the subject shows a close agreement with statements made in the thirtieth Article of 1553. This had declared that "The Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." Similarly the ninth of these "Eleven Articles" not only condemns private Masses, but declares "that the doctrine which maintaineth the Mass to be a Propitiatory Sacrifice

[1] Strype *Annals* I., 113-15.
[2] Kidd *Articles*, 227.

for the Quick and Dead, and a means to deliver souls out of Purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ's Ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine Apostolick, but contrariwise most ungodly and most injurious to the precious redemption of our Saviour Christ and his only sufficient Sacrifice, offered once for ever upon the altar of the Cross."[1] Moreover, Archbishop Parker apparently did not consider that the authority of these "Eleven Articles" had been superseded by the issue of the Thirty Eight, since in one of his ordinances in 1564 he declared that it was incumbent on the clergy to read these twice a year as well as the "Book of Articles"[2]

There is, it is true, sufficient evidence of the existence at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign of a party favourable to the Lutherans and anxious also to soften the Eucharistic teaching of the Edwardine settlement. The celebrated Swiss divine, Henry Bullinger, in a letter written in 1559, refers to the danger of the Augsburg Confession being received in England, while Strype asserts that "there were not a few now (1558) that in the alteration of religion would endeavour to have it settled according to the Augustan Confession whereby a real and substantial Presence might be acknowledged in the Eucharist."[3] But the facts would seem to show that this party possessed little weight and were quite unsuccessful in their attempt to influence the Anglican religious settlement.

Was the English Reformation Calvinistic?

It is often asserted that the English Reformation, although influenced by both systems, was neither distinctively Calvinistic or Lutheran in its doctrine. But while there may be a measure of truth in this generalisation, it would certainly be far easier to prove its divergence from special Lutheran than from special

[1] Strype *Annals* I., 219.
[2] Strype *Parker*, Append. XXVIII.
[3] *Annals* I., 53.

Calvinistic tenets. For even though the English Reformed Confession of Faith was not designedly Calvinistic, and the crude and more extreme theories of that system regarding predestination and reprobation found no place in it, yet there is little question that at the time of the revision of the Articles in 1563 Calvinistic theology was practically dominant in England and very soon became almost universally accepted by our chief divines. Very early in Elizabeth's reign a petition of certain exiles called "Freewillers," showed the prevalence of extreme Calvinistic doctrines in England. They complain that they were reproached as "Pelagians" and "fautors of false religion," because they denied that God's predestination was the cause of men's sin and damnation[1] Archdeacon Hardwick probably does not overstate the case when he confidently affirms that "during an interval of thirty years the more extreme opinions of the school of Calvin . . . were predominant in every town and parish."[2] Hooker in his day declared that men are never clear of the accusation of heresy, "if they find not somewhat in Calvin to justify themselves."[3]

The "Lambeth Articles" of 1595, fully approved by Archbishop Whitgift, prove how established and widespread extreme Calvinism was even at that date, while as late as 1608 Bishop Sanderson testifies that Calvin's "Institutes" were still recommended to Oxford students as "the best and perfectest system of divinity."[4]

No Lutheran Eucharistic Doctrine

To return to the sacramental teaching of the Elizabethan Reformers, the leading bishops testify most definitely that ubiquitarian or Lutheran views of the

[1] *Cf* Strype *Annals* I., 331-2.
[2] *Articles*, 164.
[3] Pref. *Eccles. Pol.* II., 9, n. 2.
[4] Wordsworth *Eccles. Biog*, IV., 416 (1839).

Eucharist had gained no footing whatever. As early as November, 1560, Bishop Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr that "That volatile Ubiquitarian doctrine cannot by any means gain a footing among us, though there have not been wanting from the first outset those who had the subject enough at heart." And again in 1562 he adds "As to the matters of doctrine we have pared away everything to the quick and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth, for as to the Ubiquitarian theory there is no danger in this country." The changes which, according to Bishop Gibson, "completely transformed" Article XXVIII were made in January, 1563, but in December, 1563 Bishop Horn in writing to Bullinger still asserts "We have throughout England the same Ecclesiastical doctrine as yourselves." "Against the Ubiquitarianism of Brentius, a certain Englishman has undertaken (to write) as you desire that it may be manifest to everyone that the people of England entertain on these points the same opinions as you do at Zurich." Such a statement gives no support to the theory of an Anglican *via media* position between Rome and Geneva on Eucharistic doctrine! Similarly Bishop Grindal while lamenting, in a letter to Bullinger in 1566, the persistence of the vestiarian dispute with the Puritans, adds that "The pure doctrine of the Gospel remains in all its integrity and freedom; in which, even to this day (notwithstanding the attempts of many to the contrary) we most fully agree with your churches and with the confession you have lately set forth."[1] It is obvious that Grindal, who had been converted from Lutheran views on the Lord's Supper some years previously by Bullinger, would not have made such an unequivocal declaration concerning Anglican doctrine if he had regarded the alteration in Article 28 as countenancing any Lutheran views of the Presence in the Lord's Supper or as embodying any Eucharistic doctrine different from that held by the Swiss Reformed Churches.

[1] *Zurich Letters*, I. 92, 100, 135, 169.

We have further evidence that Lutheran opinions had gained no hold, at least on the Anglican episcopate, for Bishop Jewel, when writing to Bullinger in 1567, informs him that " one alone of our number (Bishop Cheney, of Gloucester, who was temporarily excommunicated later for refusing to sign the Articles) hath openly and boldly declared in Parliament his approval of Luther's opinion respecting the Eucharist, but this crop will not, I hope, be of long continuance."[1] This hope would seem to have been well founded since Bishop Parkhurst writes to Simler in 1574 " so far are we English from defending either the Ubiquitarian or any other monstrous opinions that we cannot endure them. We only dispute about ceremonies and habits and things of no importanc ."[1]

Definition of the " Presence " in Article XXVIII.

Having thus examined the extent and influence of the Lutheran movement in England at this period we are better able to consider carefully the history connected with the alteration effected in 1563 in Article XXVIII, which it is asserted, has impressed upon the Articles their positive Catholic character previously lacking. In this Article, which in 1553 was numbered xxix, there had been a clause stating that "forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth that the body of one and the self same man cannot be at one time in diverse places, but must needs be in some one certain place: therefore the body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and diverse places. And (because as Holy Scripture doth teach) Christ wa taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly to confess the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

[1] *Ibid* I., 186 and 302.

We have direct evidence that Archbishop Parker held a high opinion of Cranmer's treatises on the Lord's Supper. Writing to Cecil in 1563, he describes them as "great notable books" "which I would as much rejoice to win as I would to restore an old chancel to reparation."[1] Further Bishops Grindal and Horn had reported to their Swiss brethren that Parker "was exceedingly well disposed towards the propagation of the most pure religion and was exceedingly anxious and earnest and active in entirely washing away the Romish dregs of every kind."[2] The prominent part which he took, in conjunction with his suffragans, in petitioning the Queen against the restoration of images in the churches, certainly confirms the truth of this statement. For in this petition the bishops not only denounce the use of images as unscriptural and dangerous, but they declare that the establishing of them would "utterly discredit our ministries as builders of the things which we have destroyed," and would "also blemish the flame of such notable fathers as have given their lives for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images." By this it is clearly evident that Parker and his colleagues definitely affirm their approval of the doctrinal position and policy of the Edwardine reformers.[3] Certainly Parker's efforts in the revision of the Articles prove that he had no Lutheran leanings on the Eucharist. In a preliminary review he had merely re-worded part of the foregoing clause (in Art. 29 of 1553) without altering its import, while he had at the same time compiled a new and highly significant Article, concerning "the wicked which do not eat the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." Convocation, however, while accepting the new Article, altogether excluded the clause which Parker had amended, and substituted in its

[1] Strype *Cranmer*, II., 461-2. Appen., xc.
[2] *Zurich Letters*, I., 181.
[3] *Parker's Corresp.* 94.

stead the statement that "the body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." Bishop Guest declared at the time that this new clause was "of mine own penning" and was not ntended "to exclude the Presence of Christ's body from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof."[1]

It is probable that Guest had Lutheran leanings, but it is difficult to see how such a clear statement could, when read in conjunction with Parker's new Article, be construed as supporting what Bishop Gibson asserts it to imply—an "objective Presence in virtue of consecration, as something *external* to ourselves, in no way dependent on our feeling or perception of it," or "on our faith."[2] For when we are told that the body is present only "after an heavenly and spiritual manner," and only "received by faith" there seems no possibility for asserting an objective presence in the elements "a presence attached to the *sign* by virtue of the act of Consecration and not consequent upon the act of Communion."[3] It is one thing to say that "the Body of Christ is *given* . . . only after an heavenly and spiritual manner," and quite another to declare, in the language of Bishop Moberly, that the "Body and Blood of Christ are *present* . . .

[1] Hodges *Bishop Guest and Articles* XXVIII. and XXIX., p. 22. Guest added in explanation of this statement "It is very true that when Christis bodye is taken and eaten, it is neither seen, felt, smelt, nor tasted to be Christis body, and so it is receaved and eaten but after a heavenly and spiritual and no sensible manner" MSS. Domestic Elizabeth 1571 No. 36, 9.

[2] *Articles* II., 661.

Bishop Gibson has used, whether by design or accident, almost verbatim, the statement made by Mr. Scudamore in 1872—"The Body of Christ in this holy Sacrament is a *thing external to ourselves, and in no wise dependent on our perception, knowledge or belief.*" *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 858 (1872).

[3] Kidd *Articles*, 229.

spiritually in and with the elements."[1] The latter implies "present locally after the manner of a spirit"; whereas the Article describes a heavenly presence to our spirits, received and appropriated by faith. For when it is distinctly explained in Art. 29 that the wicked "Do *not* eat the body of Christ" in the Supper, it seems quite inconceivable that this language can include a "Presence" in any local or objective sense by the mere fact of consecration, otherwise the wicked also must share in it. Guest evidently realised this difficulty, for when the Articles were being ratified in 1571, not only did he appeal to Cecil that "to avoid offence and contention," the word "only" in Art. 28, before "after an heavenly and spiritual manner," may well be left out as not needed, and the word "profitably" added so as to read "the mean whereby the body of Christ is *profitably* received and eaten in the Supper is faith," but he also desired that Art. 29 "should be quite taken away," as "Likely to cause much business, because it is quite contrary to the Scripture and to the doctrine of the Fathers."[2] In neither of these attempts to obtain the support of the Crown to reverse the definite decision of Convocation, was Guest successful, although he felt able to sign the Articles as they stood.

Do the Wicked Eat the Body of Christ?

Again, it might have seemed that the words "such as rightly, worthily and *with faith* receive" the sacrament, "The bread is the partaking of the body of Christ," would have sufficiently guarded against the doctrine that the wicked or *faithless* eat the body of Christ; and the fact that Archbishop Parker composed and inserted Article 29 expressly to condemn this teaching is worthy of special notice, since it proves

[1] Bampton Lect., 172 ("Administration of the Holy Spirit &c.")
[2] Goode *Eucharist* Supplem. II., 9-10.

how completely in accord his Eucharistic views were with those of Cranmer and the Edwardine Reformers.[1] This had been a test question between the latter and their adversaries. It was, as we have previously seen, one of the three points in the "Great Parliamentary Debate" on the Eucharist in 1548, while it was one of the two counts on which Bradford was condemned to martyrdom.[2] The Romanists, like those now who teach the doctrine of a Real Objective Presence in the elements, had argued in opposition to the Reformers that the wicked *do* eat the body of Christ though not *fruitfully* or *profitably* (see Cranmer's *Lord's Supper*, 26). The Elizabethan clergy were determined that this subtle distinction should be clearly repudiated. This was apparent not only by the insertion of Article 29, but by the rejection of Bishop Guest's attempt to substitute the very word "profitably" for "only" in the Article. For clearly *all* those eating Christ's body "after an heavenly and spiritual manner by faith" do partake *fruitfully* or profitably, since Christ declared that "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me" (John vi. 26), while He was careful to explain that this eating was "after a heavenly and spiritual manner" by faith (John vi., 63), and as the Article distinctly states that it is *only in this way* that the body of Christ "is eaten in the Supper" it is evident that it excludes any idea of *the unfruitful* eating by the wicked and therefore necessarily of any local Presence in the elements.

Moreover, if the new clause in Article 28 can be construed as allowing an objective Presence "independent alike of faith and feeling" it is

[1] In spite of cavils such as Bishop Guest made against this Article, Parker was constant in its defence. In 1571 he wrote to Lord Burghley stoutly maintaining that St. Augustine "doth plainly affirm our opinion in the Article to be most true. Howsoever some men vary from it." *Correspondence*, 381.

[2] *Writings of Bradford*, 542.

exceedingly singular that Bishop Cheyney,[1] whose Lutheran views were most pronounced, should have allowed himself to be excommunicated for a time rather than accept the revised Articles? His action is, however, quite intelligible when we remember that the Lutherans officially condemned Eucharistic language almost identical to that used in this new clause in Article 28. "Other sacramentarians, . . speaking on the subject of the Lord's Supper, in part use our words and make a show as though they too believed the true presence of the true substantial and living body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, *yet this presence and eating, they say, is spiritual and takes place* through faith" (*Formula Concordiæ*, c. 7). But in direct opposition to this interpretation, this Lutheran Confession asserts "Credimus, docemus, et confitemur, corpus et sanguinem Christi *non tantum* spiritualiter per fidem . . . sumi" (*ibid.* c. VI. p. 600).

Why was Article XXVIII Altered?

It may reasonably be asked, Why if no change of Eucharistic doctrine were intended, the alteration in Article 28 was made? In considering this question, it is important to remember that the change was intended by Convocation to be accompanied by the inclusion of Article 29, which although passed by the Synod was arbitrarily suppressed by the Queen till

[1] Strype declares that in the Synod of April, 1571, Cheyney "was solemnly denounced excommunicate by the President, the Lord Archbishop himself, for absence and contumacy" (*Annals* I, 281), and the reason of this "absence" is apparent from a letter written about this time presumably by Bishop Guest and discovered in the State Paper Office, No. 37, Vol. lxxviii. (Domestic-Elizabeth), where, in commenting on the insertion of the word "only" in Article 28, he says, "My L. of Gloucester is pronounced excommunicate by my lord of Canterbury and shall be cited to answer before him and other bishops to certain errors which he is accused to hold. I think if this word *onely* were put out of the book for his sake it were the best." (Quoted Perry *Declaration on Kneeling*, p. 199).

1571. We need also to bear in mind that it was the aim of the authorities at this time to conciliate, and, if possible, reconcile to the Reformed Church, the Popish clergy and laity, who were still very numerous. Bishop Cox, writing in August, 1562, at the time of the revision of the Article, reports "there is everywhere an immense number of Papists, though for the most part concealed."[1] There is every probability therefore that it was thought politic at this time to withdraw a clause which categorically and aggressively denounced Romish teaching, especially since the insertion of a fresh Article, by its implication, safeguarded in a more indirect and softened form the Reformed teaching on the subject. This reason, together with the policy of not alienating the Lutheran princes at such a time, undoubtedly accounted for Elizabeth's suppression of this Article until the promulgation of the Papal bull of excommunication against her in 1570, when all further efforts at conciliation were seen to be useless.

It has, however, been urged that the alteration in Article 28 must have denoted some change in Eucharistic teaching since it was resented by some of the Puritan party.[2] This statement is based on a letter written by Humphrey and Sampson to Bullinger in 1566 in which they include a list of "blemishes which still attached to Church of England." There are thirteen of these, comprising the usual Puritan objections to the habits and other minor ceremonies, and they add that "the article composed in the time of Edward the VI. respecting the spiritual eating which expressly oppugned and took away the real presence in the Eucharist, and contained a most clear explanation of the truth, is now set forth among us mutilated and imperfect."[3] It should be noticed that they do not suggest here that the Article

[1] *Zurich Letters* I., 112.
[2] Gibson *Articles*, I., 41.
[3] *Zurich Letters*, I., 165.

actually teaches the doctrine of the *realem et corporalem* presence, but that its condemnation was not as full and clear as in the Forty-Two Articles. Had they interpreted the new clause as justifying the Lutheran view of the Presence they would not have emphatically declared in the same letter that "we have (praised be God) a doctrine pure and incorrupt . . . we have the same rule of doctrine and faith" as the other Reformed Churches. Bishops Grindal and Horn, while repudiating the misrepresentations of Humphrey and Sampson, in this letter declare to Bullinger that "In the receiving of the Lord's Supper the laws . . . testify to our explanation of the manner of the spiritual feeding and presence of the body of Christ in the holy supper."[1]

We should, moreover, bear in mind that at this date the apprehensions of the Puritans concerning this alteration had not been *allayed by the inclusion of Article XXIX.* They had, however, strangely overlooked the teaching on the Eucharist given in the Second Book of Homilies recently put forth, and declared by the revised Articles (XXXIV.) "to contain godly and wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times." The Homily on the Sacrament might well have been composed expressly as a further amplification and explanation of the language used in Articles XXVIII. and XXIX. "It is well known," we are instructed, "that the meat we seek for in this Supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of our soul, a heavenly reflection and not earthly, an invisible meat and not bodily, a ghostly substance and not carnal. So that to think that *without faith* we may enjoy the eating and drinking thereof, is but to dream of a gross carnal feeding basely objecting and binding ourselves to the elements and creatures." There is little room for an objective Presence in the elements independently of the faith of the recipient, when it is distinctly stated that "the unbelievers and

[1] *Zurich Letters*, I., 178.

the faithless cannot feed upon that precious body." The injunction in the words of administration—" feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving "—is also strongly emphasised, " When thou goest up to the reverend communion, to be satisfied with spiritual meats, thou look up with faith upon the holy body and blood of thy God, thou marvel with reverence, thou touch it with thy mind, thou receive it with the hand of thy heart, and thou take it fully with thy inward man."

Certainly Archbishop Parker had no idea that any change of doctrine in a Lutheran direction had been effected by the alteration in Article XXVIII., since, in writing on the subject in 1571, he laments the fact that a quarrel should have arisen merely over " the form of bread " used in the celebration, since " we be in one uniform *doctrine* of the same."[1]

The Edwardine Reformers and the Teaching of Article XXVIII.

In view of Bishop Gibson's startling assertion that this new clause in Article XXVIII. so radically changed the Edwardine Eucharistic doctrine that the " opinions of Cranmer and Ridley on the subject of the Holy Communion have nothing more than an historical interest for us, and their writings no claim to be regarded even as an *expositio contemporanea* of our existing formularies,"[2] it is well to compare carefully the teaching of the Edwardine Reformers with this new Elizabethan clause. Cranmer in his treatise on the Lord's Supper,[3] emphatically declared, " I never said that Christ is utterly absent, but I ever affirm that He is truly and spiritually present, and truly and spiritually exhibited unto the godly receivers." " The bread and wine be no mere vain or bare tokens, but, in the due minis-

[1] *Correspondence*, 379.
[2] *Articles* II., 647.
[3] *Works*, I,. 11-15.

trations of the sacraments God is present, working with His Word and sacraments . . . Therefore I say that Christ giveth Himself to be eaten, chewed and digested ; but all is spiritually with faith, and not with mouth." It is exceedingly difficult to find any divergence in this teaching from that of Articles XXVIII. and XXIX., where we are told that although "the wicked do not eat the Body of Christ," yet "it is given, taken and eaten, in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner," being "received and eaten" only by faith.

Bishop Ridley is, if anything, even more definite in his statements on the subject. "Think not," he declares, "that I go about to take away the true Presence of Christ's Body in His Supper rightly and duly ministered . . . Christ is present in His mysteries, neither at any time, as Cyprian saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent Himself from the Divine Mysteries . . . The Body of Christ is present in the sacrament, but yet sacramentally and spiritually . . . I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's Supper in such sort as the Church of Christ . . . doth acknowledge the same. The true Church of Christ doth acknowledge the presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the godly *by grace and spiritually and by a sacramental signification*, but not by the *corporal presence of the body of his flesh*."[1] Similarly, Bishop Latimer, repudiating the notion that the sacrament is nothing else but "a bare and naked sign," declares, "There is none other presence of Christ required than a spiritual presence, because to the faithful believer there is the real or spiritual body of Christ."[2] And yet we are told that such language as this, which is common to all the Edwardine Reformers, cannot be taken even as a *contemporanea expositio* of the euchar-

[1] *Works* 201, 230, 236.
[2] *Remains*, 252.

istic teaching given in Articles XXVIII. and XXIX., and has, therefore, " nothing more than an historical interest for us ! "

Did the Foreign Reformers Teach a Figurative Presence?

Moreover, the evidence is entirely against Bishop Gibson's assertion that there was a large section of Edwardine Reformers " who held that the Presence was merely figurative," or that this figurative teaching correctly describes the Eucharistic views of " the Swiss school of Reformers." For both the English and Swiss Reformers took special pains to refute this calumnious accusation of their adversaries. Calvin, whose Eucharistic doctrine Bishop Harold Browne declares to be identical with that of our Reformers,[1] is most definite in his repudiation of this position, " They are greatly mistaken in imagining that there is no presence of the flesh of Christ in the Supper, unless it be placed in the bread . . . have done with the calumny that Christ is withdrawn from His Supper if He lurk not unde the covering of bread. If any ask me concerning the mode, I am not ashamed to confess the mystery to be more sublime than my intellect can grasp. . . . In His sacred feast He bids me, under symbols of bread and wine, to take His body and blood, to eat and to drink, I doubt not but that He really offers and that I receive."[2] Again he says, " It is a spiritual mystery figured to us by visible signs . . . yet are they not naked and empty figures, but have their truth and substance united to them. It is with good reason that the bread is called the body, since it not only represents but offers grace."[3] Yet Calvin is careful to add, in accordance with the language of Articles XXVIII. and XXIX.,

[1] *Thirty Nine Articles*, 709.
[2] *Institutes* Bk. IV. c. 17.
[3] *Tracts*, Vol. II., 170.

" Nothing is received except by faith, we must hold then that the grace of God is by no means so annexed to them that whoso receives the sign also gains possession of the thing."[1]

Both Cranmer and Calvin defend Zwingle against the charge of making the Sacrament a " mere sign and figure,"[2] and it is astonishing that such an opinion is still widely prevalent. In his Confession, addressed to Francis I. of France, in 1530, Zwingle distinctly stated " Christum credimus vere esse in coena, immo non esse Domini coenam nisi Christus adsit . . . verum Christi corpus credimus in coena sacramentaliter et spiritualiter edi, a religiosa, fideli et sancta mente."[3] In language equally strong, the Helvetic Confession of 1566 states " By this holy Supper . . . the faithful receive, by the working of Christ through the Holy Ghost, the flesh and blood of the Lord, and do feed on them to everlasting life." " By spiritual meat we mean not any imaginary thing, but the very body of our Lord Jesus, given for us, which yet is received of the faithful not corporally but spiritually by faith." There is a striking similarity between this language and that of the answer of the Anglican Catechism to the question, " What is the inward part or thing *signified?*" " The Body and Blood of Christ which are *verily and indeed* taken by the *faithful* in the Lord's Supper."

The " Former Confession of Helvetia," 1536, may even have suggested the phraseology of Article XXVIII. in declaring " We do indeed eat the body, we do indeed drink the blood of our Lord . . . but spiritually, that is, *after a spiritual manner;* thus are the bread and wine a Sacrament to us, and not bare and naked signs."

Eucharistic Views of Elizabethan Divines

It is, however, confidently asserted that not only did the Elizabethan Settlement adopt a *via media* position

[1] *Heads of Agreement*, 217.
[2] *Cf. Orig. Letters*, II., 388.
[3] *Cf. Expositor*, Mch. 1901.

on the Eucharist other than the above, but that this teaching was maintained by all the prominent Anglican divines of the period. " For the official exponents of her (English Church) Eucharistic teaching as for her representative divines, we must go, not to the Edwardine leaders, who inaugurated her reformation in doctrine, but to the later and more primitive theology of those who completed it in the following age."[1]

All this implies that the Eucharistic views of the Elizabethan divines were very considerably different from those of the early Reformers under Edward VI. Is there any justification for such a theory? We have the definite record of Archbishop Parker's thorough approval of Cranmer's Eucharistic teaching when he declares in his book, " De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ," " Cranmerus . . . scripsit contra pontificorum sententiam illam crassem atque carnalem in sanctæ cœna sacramento Christi presentiam affirmantium tanta doctrina et argumentorum copia refertum librum ; ut ea controversia a nemine unquam contra pontificos accuratius tractata esse videatur."[2]

As we have seen, the Edwardine Reformers, while teaching a real and true spiritual Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, denied the *realem et corporalem* Presence, or any local objective Presence, apart from faith. " We receive," said Cranmer, " the self-same body of Christ that . . . was crucified . . . the contention is only in the manner and form how we receive it."[3]

As John Foxe declared, when comparing the Lutherans and the Reformed, " They both . . . do confess the presence of Christ, and disagree only upon the manner of the presence, which the one part affirm to be real and the other spiritual."[4] Is there any evidence that the Elizabethan divines " advanced "

[1] Kidd *Articles*, 228.
[2] See Preface Jenkyn's Edn. of Cranmer's *Works*, pp xcix. & c.
[3] *Lord's Supper*, 370.
[4] *Acts and Monuments*, V., 11.

from this doctrine of a real spiritual presence to that of an "objective Presence external to ourselves" and "independent of our faith"? (*Gibson.*) Bishop Jewel expressly declares that "the natural and real presence . . . has no certain and express testimony of holy Scripture or ancient councils or fathers."[1] "We say not, either that the substance of bread and wine is done away or that Christ's body is let down from heaven, or made really or fleshly present in the Sacrament. We are taught according to the doctrine of the old fathers, to lift up our hearts unto heaven, and there to feed upon the Lamb of God . . . Thus spiritually and with the mouth of our faith we eat the body of Christ and drink His Blood."[2] Similarly, Dean Nowell, in his Catechism, which was examined and approved by the Lower House of Convocation, declares, "We must determine that the outward element hath neither of itself *nor in itself enclosed* the force and efficacy of the Sacrament, but that the same floweth wholly from the Spirit of God" (p. 207). "So we, when we rightly receive the Lord's Supper, with the very divine nourishment of His body and blood . . . given to us by the work of the Holy Ghost and received of us by faith, as the mouth of the soul, we are continually fed . . . We must lift up our souls from earth and raise them up by faith to heaven, where Christ is" (p. 213-4).

Archbishop Sandys is also explicit in denying any objective presence by virtue of consecration: "His body is there" (*i.e.*, in heaven), "not here; for a natural body doth not occupy sundry places at once. By faith He is seen, by faith He is touched, by faith He is digested. *Spiritually by faith* we feed upon Christ, when we stedfastly believe that His body was broken, and His blood shed for us upon the Cross."[3]

[1] *Zurich Letters* I. 147.
[2] *Sermon and Harding*, 448.
[3] *Sermons*, 88-9.

Archbishop Grindal also insists that Christ's body must be received with faith and not with the mouth . . . wicked and impenitent persons lack faith, wherefore they cannot eat the body of Christ."[1] We have clear evidence from the language of Grindal's successor that although the clause in the Article expressly denying the "Real and corporal Presence," had been changed in 1563, yet that doctrine was still considered erroneous. Archbishop Whitgift in his "Answer" to Cartwright, which was carefully examined and approved by Archbishop Parker, and other bishops,[2] says, "Mr. Martyr nameth the popish things which the Lutherans observe to be the Real Presence . . . *which this Church hath refused.*"[3] Hooker's teaching on the subject is well known, "The Real Presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is *not* therefore to be sought for *in the Sacrament* but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament . . . I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ when and where the bread is His body or the cup His blood, but *only in the very heart* and soul of him which receiveth them."[4]

If we turn to the second generation of Elizabethan divines we fail to discover any change of teaching. "The local and corporal hiding of His human substance under the shows of bread and wine was never taught by any Catholic father or Council," says Bishop Bilson, and he continues, "Your Real Presence and Ubiquity, if you will have Christ's human substance dispersed in many places . . . are the very bowels and inwards of Eutyches' heresy."[5]

Bishop Andrewes, while agreeing with Calvin, in refusing to define the mode of the Presence, is very

[1] *Remains*, 58.
[2] *Cf* Strype's *Parker* Bk. IV., ch. 38, 463 (1711).
[3] Whitgift's *Works*, III., 550.
[4] *Eccles Pol.* V., 67. 6.
[5] *The True Difference*, p. 801-3 (1625).

definite in denying it to be local, "Let them worship the Deity, hiding there under the species, made in a baker's oven. Sion would shudder at this and utterly repudiate it."[1] Or, as he told the French Cardinal Duperron, "The terms of *sous les espèces*, or *dans les espèces sacramentales*, it would pose the Cardinal and all the whole College to find that they were ever heard or dreamt of in St. Augustine's time, or many hundred years after."[2]

A little later we find a representative Caroline divine, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, explicitly stating, "by *spiritually* they mean *present after the manner of a spirit*, we mean *present to our spirits only*. That is so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith or spiritual susception . . . They say that Christ's body is truly present there as it was upon the Cross, but not after the manner of all or any body, but after that manner of being as an angel is in a place. That is *their* spiritually. But *we* by the *real spiritual presence* of Christ do understand Christ to be present as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace; and this is all we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence."[3] If may be added that Taylor is defending in this treatise "the doctrine of the Church of England and *generally of the Protestants* . . . that all who worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all purposes of His Passion: the wicked receive not Christ but the bare symbols only; but yet to their hurt."[4]

View of Anglican and Foreign Reformers on Reservation

We get also strong additional proof of the want of evidence of any *Anglican via media* position on

[1] Sermon before the Count Palatine, 1613.
[2] *Minor Works*, p. 14.
[3] *Works*. Vol VI., p. 17, edit Eden.
[4] *Real Presence*, I., 4.

Eucharistic doctrine in the attitude taken towards the question of the reservation of the consecrated elements in the Anglican and such of the Reformed foreign Confessions which allude to the subject. For the Anglican Articles condemn the practice in even more thorough and comprehensive language than that employed in the Continental Confessions. We have to bear in mind that the custom of Reservation immediately died out amongst the Lutheran and Reformed Churches on the Continent. Quite early (in 1526) the Synod of Homburg, in stating the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist, had limited its use "to the reception and communion of the faithful in remembrance of Christ," declaring that "from henceforth let it nowhere be reserved in tabernacles or pyxes, or carried about for any reason,"[1] Since therefore the Lutherans taught that outside its use while reserved in a pyx or taken in procession "the body of Christ was not present" (*cf.* "Concord of Wittenberg" 1536) they were in little danger of the revival of the practice of Reservation.

In England, on the other hand, a modified form of Reservation, for the immediate use of the sick only, was permitted under the First Prayer Book of 1549, but as it soon became apparent that this concession only provoked attempts to continue the mediæval practice of permanent Reservation for the purposes of Adoration, Reservation was entirely prohibited in 1552, and our Article XXVIII. of that year contained a most sweeping condemnation of it in every form, when it declared "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped." It is not without significance to remember that Bishop Hooper in the Articles he had drawn up shortly before, when Reservation for the sick only was still lawful, had been content to word his Article "The Sacrament of the "Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance, nor by the use of the Primitive

[1] Kidd *Docts. of Cont'l Reform'n*, 225.

Church, reserved, carried about, lifted up *in order to be* worshipped "[1] (ut adoretur). The Reformers in the XLII. Articles deliberately substituted "or" for "in order to."

The foreign Reformed Confessions which refer to Reservation are occupied mainly with its condemnation in the form of Adoration and are silent on the practice of Reservation for the sick. Thus the "Confession of Helvetia" (1566) states that "The body of Christ is in the heavens at the right hand of His Father, and therefore our hearts are to be lifted up on high, and not to be fixed on the bread, neither is the Lord to be *worshipped* in the bread" while the Confession of Saxony (1551) Art. 10, declares "It is a manifest profanation to carry about part of the Supper of the Lord and *to adore it*." Similarly the Confession of Wurtemburg asserts "Another error is that one part of the Eucharist is accustomed to be carried about and laid aside for the singular worship of God" (Cap. XIX.), while the Confession of Bohemia (1573) declares in section 14 "According to the commandment, the body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ must be distributed only and be received in common of the faithful or believing Christians, but it must not be sacrificed, or set forth, or lifted up that it *may be worshipped*, or exhibited, or stored away or carried about."[2]

Definite as these statements are, they are really not as strong in their condemnation of Adoration as the language of the "Black Rubric," which does not scruple to describe such a practice as "idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians." Whatever may have been the precise reason for the non inclusion of this rubric

[1] *Cf.* Hardwick *Articles*, 330.

[2] The persistency of these efforts is illustrated by the demand of the "Rebels in the West" in 1549. "We will have the Sacrament hang over the high altar and there to be *worshipped* as it was wont to be, and they which will not thereto consent, we will have them die like heretics against the holy Catholic Faith" (*Cranmer's Remains*, 172).

in the 1559 Prayer Book, it was certainly not due to any disagreement with its doctrinal teaching, since it was finally incorporated in the 1662 Book, when Eucharistic doctrine was certainly not less "high" than it had been a century earlier.

When we remember therefore that the Council of Trent although admitting that the Eucharist "was instituted that it might be received," yet definitely declares "it is not therefore *the less to be adored*" (Sess. XIII. Ch. 5), surely no possible comparison between the Anglican Condemnation of Reservation with that of the foreign Reformers can constitute the language of the former as in any way a *via media* position on this question.

In view of such definite evidence as this we may fairly claim to have shown that as far as Eucharistic doctrine is concerned there is no real difference between the teaching of the early and the later Reformers or any ground for Bishop Frere's assertion that the Elizabethan is "a modification of the Edwardine religion." So far from a *via media* position having then been adopted, Archbishop Grindal was surely correct in stating that Elizabeth had "restored all things to that standard of the administration of the Word of God and the Sacraments and the whole of religion, which had been drawn up and established in the reign of Edward VI."[1] There is certainly no evidence that any central party of Anglicans at this time would have endorsed an official modern "Anglo-Catholic" definition of the Presence, "That by consecration the bread and wine, being blessed by the life-giving power of the Holy Ghost, *are changed and become* the true body and the true blood of Christ, and as such are given to and received by the faithful. We hold, therefore, that Christ *thus* present is to be adored."[2]

[1] *Remains* 338-9.

[2] E.C.U. Declaration of Faith presented to the Partiarch of Constantinople, 1922.

Chapter III

THE CHURCH OF ROME

It would not seem altogether unprofitable in view of the position adopted by a large section of English Churchmen to-day, to examine carefully the attitude of the leading divines at the time of the Elizabethan religious settlement, both officially and in their published statements, towards the claims and teaching of the Church of Rome. Was there, for instance, an Anglican *via media* party between Rome and the foreign Reformers, or between Rome and the Edwardine Reformers, which in accord with the views of modern "Anglo-Catholics," regarded the Pope, in some sense at least, as the spiritual Father of Christendom, and which anxiously longed to restore the "unity of the Faith" under his headship? Was there a school of thought then which held, for example, with Bishop Gore that there is no "line of deep doctrinal cleavage" between the Churches of England and Rome.[1] Modern historians of acknowledged repute practically assert this in a large measure when they declare that "any specific condemnation of the Mass as idolatrous would have contravened a policy on which "the Church at this time was acting with considerable consistency, viz., that of not speaking against the Mass itself, but against the perversion of it as "private Mass."[2] Do the official utterances and acts of the prominent divines of the Elizabethan period confirm the accuracy of such a statement?

[1] *Basis of Anglican Fellowship*, p. 44.
[2] Frere. *Hist of Eng. Ch.*, 98.

Edwardine Reformers on the Church of Rome

We have abundant evidence of the severe and wholehearted condemnation of the Pope and Popery by the Edwardine Reformers. It is only necessary to cite two or three typical examples. Bishop Hooper, in the unrestrained language of the age, declares, "This is true, the See of Rome is not only a tyranny and pestilence of body and soul, but the nest of all abomination . . . This beast [the Pope] is preached unto the people to be a man that cannot err, his authority to be above God and His laws . . . And is this first-begotten of Anti-Christ, the bishop of Rome, without sin?"[1] Bishop Ridley, probably the most learned, careful and profound theologian amongst the Edwardine Reformers, uses almost identical phraseology. "It was," he says, "neither for the privileges of the place or person that the See of Rome and the bishop thereof were called Apostolic, but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first . . . So as truly and as justly for the contrariety of religion and diversity of doctrine from Christ and His Apostles, that see and the bishop thereof at this day both ought to be called and are indeed anti-Christian. The see is the see of Satan, and the bishop that maintaineth the abominations thereof is Anti-Christ himself indeed. And for the same causes the see at this day is the same which St. John calleth in His Revelation Babylon or the whore of Babylon."[2] Another famous martyr, John Bradford, does not attempt to mince words, and when we remember that at the time he was a prisoner for the defence of the gospel, we cannot but admire his courageous sincerity when writing in 1554, to confirm the stedfastness of other confessors, he was not afraid to declare "they follow the strumpet church and spouse of Anti-Christ, which they call the Catholic Cuurch,

[1] *Early Writings*, 23.
[2] *Works*, 415.

whose foundation and pillars is the devil and his daughter the mass, with his children the pope and his prelates."[1]

We certainly shall not find any stronger condemnation of Popery than these, employed by any of the foreign Reformers. They were, in fact, both English and Continental, absolutely at one in their severe denunciation of the corrupt and idolatrous doctrine and worship of the Romish Church, as they were also in the repudiation of its authority and claim to be the Catholic Church. Luther was most insistent that in breaking away from his allegiance to the Pope he was not severing himself or his followers from the Catholic Church, since he refused to own the Papists as Catholics. "Since the Bishop of Rome has ceased to be a bishop and has become a tyrant I fear absolutely none of his decrees, since I know that neither he nor even a General Council has power to establish new Articles of the faith."[2] In similar language The Anglican Homily "Of Obedience" declares "The Bishop of Rome ought rather to be called Anti-Christ and the successor of the Scribes and Pharisees than Christ's Vicar or St. Peter's successor, seeing that . . . in weighty matters of Christian religion, in matters of remission and forgiveness of sins, and of salvation he teacheth so directly against both St. Peter and our Saviour Christ"; while the Homily "On the Peril of Idolatry" denounces the Church of Rome as a harlot in language which certainly sounds offensively extravagant to our modern ears.

Did the Elizabethan Divines Adopt a More Moderate via media Attitude?

It may of course be argued that even if not altogether excusable such violently denunciatory language was rather to be expected at a time when the Reformers were confronted with the fury of an inhuman persecuting

[1] *Writings*, 395.
[2] *Primary Works*, 310.

policy inaugurated by their religious opponents, and that once this storm was over and they were able to live in the practical peace and security of the Elizabethan era, their language and attitude was, to say the least, considerably modified. They were able to review and estimate Romish doctrine and claims far more calmly and dispassionately, and their judgment was accordingly revised. They now adopted a saner and more moderate and traditionally Catholic position—a sort of *via media* attitude between the sweeping denunciations of the foreign Reformers and official Roman teaching. Let us examine briefly whether contemporary facts and language will substantiate this hypothesis. We are at once faced with the awkward fact that the Edwardine Homilies were almost immediately re-issued by the Elizabethan Church which commended them in its revised Articles as "containing godly and wholesome doctrine." It is scarcely possible to reconcile such action with a serious modification of their attitude towards the Church of Rome, especially when that Church was at this very time officially described as "that sinck of error and false doctrine of the Pope."[1]

But let us begin our inquiry by considering the actual position of the foreign Reformed Churches with regard to Rome. Bishop Coverdale has preserved an "Order of the Church of Denmark" (Lutheran) for the administration of the Lord's Supper, Baptism, and Marriage, which, in contrast to the "vain ceremonies of the Church of Rome," he declares to be "the doctrine of God's word and practice of the Primitive Church." In the "Exhortation" at the Communion Service we read, "Forasmuch as we now are happened into these later days, in which this so precious treasure is unhallowed and wickedly abused, this holy sacrament shall be to us a testimony before God and the world that we do utterly both in word and deed refuse and forsake all the deceitfulness

[1] Acts of Privy Council, XIII., 40.

of the papistry, and that we faithfully with all our hearts submit ourselves under the gospel of Jesus Christ."[1]

The Confession of the French Reformed Church (1559) is just as clear and emphatic in its language: "We condemn the Papistical assemblies, because that the pure truth of God is banished from them, among whom the Sacraments of faith are corrupted, counterfeited and falsified . . . among whom all superstitions and idolatries are in full force. And therefore we think that all they who join themselves to such actions, and communicate therewith do separate themselves from the body of Christ." But in spite of this strong condemnation, it adds, "Yet notwithstanding, because that in Papacy there be some small tokens of a Church, and the substance especially of Baptism hath remained, we do confess, that they which are there baptised need not to be rebaptised the second time" (Article 28).

"The Latter Confession of Helvetia" (1566), which was subscribed also by the Churches of Poland, Savoy, Hungary and Scotland, implicitly denies the claim of the Roman Church to catholicity or orthodoxy. "There is but one Church which we call Catholic, because it is universal, spread abroad through all the parts and quarters of the world. Neither do we allow of the Roman clergy, who vaunt that the Church of Rome alone is in a manner Catholic. The Church cannot have any other head beside Christ, therefore we do not allow the doctrine of the Romish prelates who would make the Pope the general pastor and supreme head of the Church of Christ militant here on earth and the very Vicar of Christ. Moreover we have in charge from the Apostles of Christ 'to shun idolatry' and 'to come out of Babylon,' and to have no fellowship with her unless we mean to be partakers with her of all God's plagues laid upon her" (Chap. 17).

[1] *Fruitful Lessons*, 473-4.

How far do these and similar statements differ from the language and teaching of the Elizabethan Church and churchmen? In answering this question we cannot fail to notice that in the revised Articles published in 1563 there was no change in the definite statement made by the Edwardine Reformers, that the Church of Rome "hath erred not only in her living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith" (Art. XIX.); while Bishop Jewel, in his famous "Apology of the Church of England," reiterates the Edwardine attitude quite unequivocally. "We have indeed," he declares, "put ourselves apart not, as heretics are wont to do, from the Church of Christ, but as all good men ought to do, from the infection of naughty persons and hypocrites. Surely we have ever judged the primitive Church of Christ's time, of the Apostles and of the holy fathers to be the Catholic Church. As touching that we have now done, to depart from that Church whose errors were proved and manifest to the world, which Church also had already evidently departed from God's Word, we have done nothing herein against either the doctrine of Christ or of His Apostles."[1]

It will scarcely be questioned that Archbishop Parker stands as the representative of the most moderate and conservative type of Elizabethan Reformer. In fact Bishop Frere cites him as the leader and exponent of a supposed *via media* party "the central body of Churchmen in general" . . . "the catholic minded Reformer," contrasted with "the protestantism of Jewel."[2] It would be difficult however to detect much difference between the views of Jewel and Parker on the claims, pretensions and teaching of the Church of Rome. "It is," Parker declares, "the pride, covetousness and usurpation of the bishop of Rome . . . which hath made the princes of the earth to defend their territories and their privileges

[1] *Works* I., 78-9.
[2] *Hist of Eng. Ch.*, 69-71.

from that wicked Babylon and her bishops. The Apostles we reverence and obey as the messengers of Christ. We will not permit, as Rome and her clergy do, any to dispense against the Scriptures. We receive the Word from the Apostles not as the Word of men, but as it is truly the Word of God assuring ourselves it is God's power to save all who believe. Thus doth our Reformation detest your Romish errors and heinous presumptions which makes your Romish writers and popes to add, alter and diminish, nay also to dispense with the words that Christ Himself spoke, as well as the writings of the Apostles. The blessed angels profess themselves to be fellow servants with the saints upon earth, what are ye or your bishop of Rome then, who (with your tribunals and jurisdictions) would be rulers and lords over the inheritance of Christ? Because ye be so earnest with us of the Reformed Church of these her Majesty's dominions, for subjection to foreign tribunals, to confute you and your errors; pray behold and see how we of the Church of England reformed by our late King Edward and his clergy, now by her Majesty and hers *reviving the same*, have but imitated and followed the examples of the ancient and worthy fathers."[1] There is no hint here of any *via media* position different from that adopted either by the foreign or Edwardine Reformers. Instead there is a whole-hearted identification of the latter Reformation with that of the Elizabethan.

Elizabethan Views on Rome in Harmony with Those of Swiss Reformers

It would seem impossible to doubt that the attitude towards the Church of Rome taken by the Elizabethan Churchmen must have been practically identical with that adopted by the Swiss Reformed Churches when we recall the fact that Henry Bullinger's "Sermons" were officially recommended by the bishops in 1586

[1] *Correspondence*, 109-11.

to the inferior clergy. In one of these Bullinger defines the Catholic Church in similar terms to Bishop Jewel. "With open voice and with all our hearts we condemn all heresies and heretics, whosoever they be, which the ancient Church either in General Councils or without Councils hath killed with the sword of God's word. But we strive against the false doctrine of the Pope, his new decrees which fight against the Word of God, and most filthy abuses and corruptions in the Church. The Holy Catholic Church cleaveth unto her only shepherd Christ, believeth His Word and liveth holily, but you shall find all these things contrary in the Church of Rome. The Church of Rome hath corrupted the sense and meaning of the Holy Scriptures, therefore the Church of Rome is not the true Church of Christ."[1]

Dr. Fulke in answering Martial is equally plain spoken: "The chief cause of our separation from the Church of Rome was not," he affirms, "the evil life of the governors thereof . . . we are departed out of Babylon, not so much for the abominable life thereof as for the corrupt and false doctrine taught therein, by which it is shewed to be the synagogue of Satan and not the Church of Christ."[2] Although our great representative divine, Richard Hooker, was less sweeping in his condemnation, since he affirms that as "touching these main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them (the Papists) to be of the family of Jesus Christ," yet he is equally emphatic in condemning Rome's "idolatrous, gross and grievous abominations;"[3] and he justifies the breach with Rome on this ground. "That which the Papists call schism," he says, "we know to be our reasonable service unto God and obedience to His voice which crieth shrill in our ears, 'Go out of Babylon, My people, that you be not partakers

[1] *Decades*, IV., 64-9.
[2] *Answer*, 175.
[3] *Eccles Pol.* III., 1-10.

of her sins and that ye receive not her plagues.' "[1] "The Church of Rome," he adds, "being in faith so corrupted, as she is, and refusing to be reformed, as she doth, we are to sever ourselves from her, the example of our fathers may not retain us in communion with that Church, under hope that we so continuing may be saved as well as they. God, I doubt not, was merciful to save thousands of them, though they lived in Popish superstitions, insomuch as they sinned ignorantly; but the truth is now laid before our eyes."[2] "They can say, that in doctrine, in discipline, in prayers in sacraments, the Church of Rome hath (as it hath indeed) very foul and gross corruptions."[3] Certainly Hooker did not consider that the Anglican Church occupied a *via media* doctrinal position between Rome and the Reformed Churches, since in refuting Travers' accusation of unsound teaching on predestination, he asserts that his exposition of this doctrine is such "as is understood by *all the Churches professing the Gospel* and therefore even by our own also amongst others." (II., 678). He thus definitely associates the English Church with the other Reformed Churches, since the "Churches professing the gospel" was the current differentiation between the Reformed Churches and the Church of Rome.

Similarly Bishop Andrewes, a generation later, argues against Cardinal Bellarmine that the Pope of Rome is Anti-Christ and the Roman Church the Babylon of the Apocalypse.[4] Adrian Saravia, Hooker's celebrated disciple, also justifies the action of the Foreign Reformers in reverting to presbyterian ordination on the ground that the Roman bishops "had fallen away from the true worship of God unto idolatry," and that as they were heretics no one ought to receive orders from

[1] *Works* II., 768 (1880).
[2] *Works* II., 610-11 (1850) (on *Justification*).
[3] *Eccles. Pol.* IV., 7-10.
[4] *Responsio* chs. IX.-XI.

an heretical bishop.[1] Canon X., of 1606, definitely asserts that "the intolerable pride of the Bishop of Rome" argues plainly that he is "the man of sin mentioned by the Apostle."[2]

It would be easy, if we wished to carry our inquiry further, to multiply quotations from the writings of prominent divines of the Caroline period all strongly denouncing the doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome. There certainly is therefore no evidence of a *via media* party at this time concerning the claims and teaching of the Papacy. Dean Jackson, one of the profoundest and most thoroughly representative theologians of that age, is as vigorous in his denunciation of Rome as any Edwardine or foreign Reformer. "Adherence," he declares, "to the visible or representative Church of Rome doth induce a separation from the holy Catholic Church, and is more deadly to the soul than to be bedfellow to one sick of the pestilence is to the body."[3]

Edwardine and Elizabethan Views of the Mass

Again it is equally difficult to discover any real evidence to support the bare assertion of some modern ecclesiastical historians that there was a considerable change in the attitude of the Elizabethan churchmen from that of the Edwardine and of the foreign Reformers on the question of the Mass. It is sometimes alleged that Parker moulded the Elizabethan Settlement on entirely different lines to Cranmer on this doctrine, so that, as Bishop Frere affirms, a subtle but important distinction was made at this time between the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass and the perversion of it as "private Mass." Parker and the Elizabethan divines, we are to believe, unlike Cranmer and the

[1] See *Defens. Tract de divers Ministr. Evan. gradibus.* ch. II., 32-3, 1611.

[2] Cardwell *Synodalia*, Vol. I., 379. See also *Irish Articles*, 1615, No. 80.

[3] *Two Treatises on the Ch.*, 123.

Edwardine Reformers, condemned the latter doctrine but not the former. It is rather surprising that the fact of the re-issue in 1563 of Article XXXI. condemning the "Sacrifices of Masses" and describing them in almost identical language to that employed concerning them in official Roman ordination formularies, should not have given pause to such a rash assertion! For the newly ordained Roman priest is distinctly empowered "to offer sacrifice and celebrate masses as well for the living as the dead (*tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis*), whereas Article XXXI. deliberately condemns all such sacrifices, in which the priest "offers Christ for the quick and dead" as "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

Cranmer had certainly most unequivocably condemned not merely the private mass but the entire doctrine of the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice. "It is abominable blasphemy," he declares, "to affirm that the Church hath need of any such sacrifice . . . the saying of mass by the priest . . . is neither a sacrifice propitiatory, nor yet a sacrifice of laud and praise, nor in any wise allowed before God, but abominable and detestable."[1] It is impossible to imagine that Archbishop Parker would have seriously quarrelled with this statement, when as we have already seen, in the ninth of the "Eleven Articles," which he specially issued, the "Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass" is condemned as "most ungodly and most injurious to Christ's one sufficient sacrifice!" Again it would seem idle for Dr. Frere to assert that it was a "declared policy" of the Elizabethan churchmen "not to condemn the Mass as idolatrous," in face of the clear language used in the Petition for the removal of altars presented to the Queen by the leading divines (including Parker). In this they declare, "Your Majesty's principal purpose is utterly to abolish all the errors and abuses used about the Lord's Supper,

[1] *Lord's Supper*, 348-52.

especially *to root out the Popish Mass* and all superstitious opinions concerning the same," and they conclude their plea by affirming that " all the preachers and learned men now who desire a godly Reformation would with one mind and mouth " support their petition, since they know that the retention of altars " would only serve to nourish the superstitious opinion of the propitiatory Mass in the minds of the simple."[1]

Again, when we turn to the individual utterances of prominent Elizabethan Church leaders we find no trace of this desire to avoid a definite condemnation of the Mass. Bishop Jewel challenged any one to prove that for the first 600 years of the Christian era " the priest ever received authority to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by means of the Mass." " We have," he declares, " that only sacrifice of the New Testament, the body of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, that Lamb of God that hath taken away the sins of the world, the virtue of which sacrifice endureth for ever. To this everlasting sacrifice, the sacrifice that is imagined in the Mass is mere injurious."[2]

These definite views were translated into action, for as early as June, 1559, Machyn records the abolition of the Apostle's mass at Powlles," while in September he chronicles the introduction of the morning service " at that hour as the Apostle's masse " or in other words to take its place.[3] Diligent inquiries were made for any who " secretly heard or said mass " and for both these offences the penalty was imprisonment, while those recanting their recusancy had to condemn the mass as " abominable sacrilege."[4] Bishop Pilkington asks " Why am I forbidden to communicate with papists at their mass ? " and answers " Surely

[1] Strype *Annals*, I., 161-2.
[2] *Works* I., 20-1, 163.
[3] *Diary*, 200 and 212.
[4] *Cf.* Round Art. *Sacrifice of Mass* (XIXth Cent'y May, 1897).

. . . for the wickedness of the order and thing they minister. For . . . they will neither give thee bread nor wine according to Christ's institution . . . but they will give thee an idol of their own making, which they call their God. They creep into a corner as the pope teaches them, to sacrifice for the quick and dead."[1]

Archbishop Sandys strongly inveighs against tolerating "a blasphemous mass in a reformed Church and Kingdom," declaring that "it does not appease but provokes God's wrath."[2] Archbishop Grindal claims that since the mass was "thought to be meritorious" and "was made an idol," "it is forbidden in Scripture." Archbishop Whitgift declares that "it is not meet that such as profess the Gospel should resort to the Mass," since "they offend God in being present at an idolatrous service."[3] Hooker is no less explicit in his condemnation. "Tell us not," he says, "that ye will read our Scriptures, if we will listen to your traditions, that if ye may have a Mass by permission we shall have a Communion with your good liking. He cannot love the Lord Jesus with his heart, which lendeth one ear to His Apostles and another to false Apostles, which can brook to see a mingle mangle of religion and superstition, ministers and massing priests, light and darkness, truth and error, traditions and Scriptures."[4] Archbishop Bancroft declares that the result of the Papists forbidding the reading of the Scriptures is that the people are drawn "from the sure trust and confidence in His Death to Masses, pardons, and I know not what intolerable superstition and idolatry."[5]

[1] *Works*, 171.
[2] *Sermens*, 12, 43.
[3] *Works*, II., 34.
[4] *Works* II. 759-60 (1850).
[5] Sermon, 1588. p. 36.

Still later Bishop Andrewes in answering Bellarmine certainly makes no careful distinction in his condemnation between the sacrifice of the Mass and "private masses." "We grant you not unwillingly," he declares, "a memory of a sacrifice in it, but we will never grant that your Christ made from bread is sacrificed there . . . The king asserts that the private mass was unknown to the Fathers, yes, and *that not private*, in which you worship transubstantiated bread."[1] Nicholas Ferrar, who was regarded by the rabid Puritans of his day as a dangerous "Romaniser," vehemently denounced the pope as Anti-Christ, and declared that he would pull down and rebuild any room of his in which the mass had been celebrated. There is little doubt that an exhaustive examination of all available evidence would reveal no trace of anything during the Elizabethan period approaching to a *via media* position either on the Mass or on the distinctive claims and doctrines of the Church of Rome.[2] Elizabethan Churchmen on these questions adopted a position practically identical to that of their Edwardine forerunners and of their Reformed brethren on the Continent. By common consent they recognised that there was a very definite and impassable "line of deep doctrinal cleavage" between the Church of England and that of Rome." Their consistent teaching and attitude to Rome, as well as that also of succeeding generations of English Churchmen, even including

[1] *Responsio*, 251.

[2] The seventh of the Canons of 1640 correctly records the attitude and intention of the Elizabethan Reformers regarding the Mass when it states that "at the time of Reforming this Church from that gross superstition of Popery it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people . . . the idolatry committed in the Mass, for which cause all Popish altars were demolished (Cardwell *Synodalia*, I., 404).

Newman[1] in his Anglican days, might well be summed up in the language of Christopher Wordsworth, one of the most learned and pronouncedly Anglican of our modern Bishops, "Let us not treat the Roman Babylon as if it were Sion, lest God should treat the English Sion as if it were Babylon . . . Rome's "notes of the Church" are marks of the Harlot . . . the very claims she makes to be Sion confirm the proof that she is Babylon."[2] The Pope of Rome he declared on another occasion "has cut himself off from the Catholic Church, has separated himself from the Communion of past ages, has severed himself from the apostles and from Christ."[3] There is an impassable gulf between this unequivocal attitude and that of the recent "Anglo-Catholic" Congress which despatched an almost servile telegram of greeting to the Pope, and the assertion that there are no "religious or theological reasons against the doctrine of transubstantiation."[4]

[1] In 1838 Newman wrote of the Church of Rome, "She may be said to resemble a demoniac. Thus she is her real self only in name; and till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one which governs her," (*Romanism and Popular Protestantism*, 102-3).

[2] Ch. Wordsworth *Union with Rome*, 85-9.

[3] *Responsio Anglicana*, 18-19, 1868 (Rivingtons).

[4] Stone *Faith of an Eng. Catholic*, p. 39.

Chapter IV

THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY

Let us now examine whether there are any facts which would justify us in declaring that the Elizabethan Settlement introduced a "modification of the Edwardine Religion" in its doctrine of the Church and the Ministry, or that both it and the Edwardine maintained a "central" *via media* position on this question. We may say at once that the doctrine of the Elizabethan Reformers on the Church was identical with that of the Edwardine, since they made no change whatever in the Articles or Ordinal dealing with the subject.

Distinction Between the Visible and Invisible Church

Faced, as the Reformers were, with the abuses and corruptions which had for so long prevailed in the Catholic Church, they all, both English and Continental, emphasised the double aspect of the Church of Christ. Following St. Augustine they distinguished clearly between "the Lord's true and mingled body" and viewed the Church as an ideal mystical Society of all true Christians gradually being formed—"the whole family in heaven and earth" (Eph. iii. 15)—and also as a visible Society, for the "edifying" or building up of this mystical Body of Christ, composed of all baptised professing believers, in which, however, as Article XXVI. declares, "the evil is ever mingled with the good." As early as 1537, before the Reforming view had made much headway, or become dominant, the "Institution of the Christian Man" had clearly enun-

ciated the doctrine of a mystical or Invisible Church. "There is and hath been ever from the beginning of the world and so shall be for ever, a Society, communion or Company of the elect and faithful people of God, of which number Our Saviour Jesus Christ is the only Head and Governor, and the members whereof be all those holy saints which be now in heaven and also all the faithful people of God which be now on life, or that ever heretofore have lived or shall live in this world from the beginning unto the end of the same and be ordained for their true faith, and obedience unto the will of God, to be saved and to enjoy everlasting life in heaven. And I believe assuredly that this congregation . . . is in very deed . . . the 'holy Catholic Church,' the very mystical Body of Christ."[1] The Anglican Reformers are particularly careful to expose the danger of confusing the true, with the visible Church of Christ. "If we shall also allow them," says Cranmer, "for the true Church of God that appear to be the visible and outward Church, consisting of the ordinary succession of bishops, then shall we make Christ . . . to be the Head of ungodly and disobedient members"[2]; while Dean Nowell, in his authorised "Catechism," carefully defines the true invisible Church as an "assembly of the godly not pent up in any certain place or time, but "comprising the universal number of the faithful that have lived and shall live in all places and ages that there may be one Body of the Church . . . which Church can neither be seen with the eyes nor can continually be known by signs" (p. 173-4). Similarly, "The Latter Confession of Helvetia" declares "There is but one Church, which we therefore call Catholic, because it is universal, spread abroad through all parts and quarters of the world and reacheth unto all times and is not limited within the compass either of time or place." And it adds, "The Church of God

[1] *Formularies of Faith*, p. 52 (1827).
[2] *Works* II., 13.

may be termed invisible, not that the men whereof it consisteth are invisible, but because being hidden from our sight and known only to God it cannot be discerned by the judgment of man." But in referring to the Church as a visible Society, it goes on to say: "Again not all that are reckoned in the number of the Church are saints and lively and true members of the Church. For there be many hypocrites" (Ch. 17). The "Augsburg Confession" in describing the visible Church as "a congregation of saints," also adds that "in this life there be many wicked ones and hypocrites mingled with this Company" (Art. vii.)

The same careful distinction between the invisible and visible aspects of the Church is made by the leading Elizabethan churchmen. Hooker, at the conclusion of a full explanation on the subject, adds, "For lack of diligent observing the difference, first between the Church of God mystical and visible, then between the visible sound and corrupted . . . . . the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed."[1] Rogers in his "Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England" clearly and shortly defines the view which he asserts to be current among all the Reformed, "To man the Church of Christ is partly invisible and visible partly. The invisible are all the elect, who be or shall be either in heaven triumphing, or on earth fighting against the flesh, the world and the devil. These as members of the Church are said to be invisible, not because the men be not seen, but for that their faith and conscience to Godward is not perfectly known to us." "The members of the visible Church are some of them for God and some against God, all of them notwithstanding deemed parts of the Church" (p. 164).

This distinction is fully recognised in the Reformed Anglican formularies. For while they speak of "the visible Church of Christ" (Art. XIX.), and describe it

[1] *Eccles., Pol* III. 1.

in the " Bidding Prayer " as " the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world," they evidently refer to the true invisible Catholic Society when they speak of " Thine elect knit together in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of Thy Son " (Collect for All Saints' Day).

The Reformers' View of Episcopacy

It is important to remember that the English doctrinal Reformation had been accomplished as a national movement by the concurrence and co-operation of both the Church and the State, whereas on the Continent reform of doctrine and worship was often a popular movement in opposition to the existing civil and ecclesiastical authorities. In England, therefore, it was possible to retain the ancient episcopal polity, and it was maintained not only with the approval of the State as agreeing best with the monarchical form of government, with which it had for so long been closely associated, but also because many of the existing bishops and clergy embraced the Reformed opinions, and had no wish to change an ancient historic form of government which had worked well, and could claim the sanction of catholicity in that it traced its origins to apostolic or subapostolic times.

The Reformers expressed this feeling and this preference in the " Preface " to their " Ordinal " of 1552, when they stated that, " It is evident unto all men, diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there hath been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, priests and deacons." And they go on to say, " to the intent that these orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England ; it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, priest nor Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined and admitted according to the form hereafter following."

It is remarkable, however, that while the English Reformers thus strongly insisted on the maintenance of the ancient and traditional polity for the Reformed Church, they are absolutely silent in their doctrinal Confession of Faith as to any particular or necessary form of Ministry for the Christian Church. In Article XIX., in defining a "visible Church," as "a congregation of faithful men," they give its "notes" simply as "preaching the word of God and right administration of the Sacraments." A practically identical definition of the Church is given in all the foreign Reformed Confessions of Faith published during this period. They all declare its signs or "notes" to consist in the preaching of the Gospel and the ministration of the Sacraments, although some add also, like the English *Reformatio Legum*, the right use of ecclesiastical discipline.

This common accord concerning the "notes" of the Church amongst all the Reformed Churches was emphasised by Rogers, in his treatise on the "Articles" which had the official approval of Archbishop Bancroft. In commenting on Art. XIX., Rogers declares "all God's people agree with us in this point," in support of which statement he appeals to the Confessions of the various Reformed Churches, including the very similar language of the Confession of Wurtemburg, which defines the Church to be "in that place or nation where the gospel of Christ is sincerely preached, and His sacraments rightly administered according to Christ's institution" (Art. XXXII.).

Again in Article XXIII., our Reformers deliberately refrain from naming "the men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation," "lawfully to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard," phraseology which was borrowed from the "Confession of Augsburg," the formulary of a Lutheran Church which, owing to the hostility of the bishops to the Reforming movement, had reluctantly been compelled to

abandon the ancient episcopal polity. Language equally general and indefinite is employed concerning the Ministry by the other Reformed Churches. "No man ought to usurp the honour of the Ecclesiastical Ministry that is . . . of his own accord. But let the Ministers of the Church be called and chosen by a lawful ecclesiastical election and vocation, that is, let them be chosen religiously of the Church or those who are appointed thereunto by the Church."[1]

It is a natural, if not an inevitable, conclusion to suppose that such careful statements were deliberately chosen because the Reformers, both Anglican and foreign, held that no one special system of polity was essential as a "note" of the Catholic Church. The Christian Ministry was to them most valuable, as a divinely designed ministering pastorate, but it was not regarded as an intrinsically indispensable priesthood mediated through one, and only one, historic channel. Most of the foreign Reformed Churches had abandoned episcopacy, either by necessity or, like the Swiss Churches, by preference, for a presbyterian polity; but none of them denied the lawfulness of episcopal government and the Swiss churches in particular lived on the closest terms of fellowship and communion with the Anglican Church which had retained it.[2]

[1] *Latter Confess. of Helvetia*, ch. 18.

[2] In this connection it should not be forgotten that Bullinger, Calvin and others actually wrote to Edward VI. offering to make him defender of their Church, and to have bishops in their Churches as in England, so as to foster a greater organic unity amongst all the Reformed. The letter was, however, intercepted by Bishops Bonner and Gardiner, who returned an unfavourable answer and thus defeated the project (*Cf.* Strype's *Cranmer*, Bk. II., ch. 15 and Bramhall's "Works," III., 483n, 1844). Calvin expressly declared that "the ancient bishops did go about to devise no other form of governing the Church than that which God hath prescribed in His Word" (*Institutes*, Bk. IV., c. 4, sect. 3-4). Archbishop Bramhall asserts that "Zuringlius and the Zuringlians liked bishops well enough, if they could have had them. But the Bishop of Constance, of another Communion, was their bishop." "The Consecration of Protestant Bishops Justified" p, 106 (1716).

Obviously also Cranmer did not regard a presbyterian ministry as unlawful since he declared, following St. Jerome, that " in the beginning of Christ's religion bishop and presbyter were not two things but both one office," and he added, " in the New Testament he that is appointed to be a bishop or priest, needeth no consecration by the scriptures, for election and appointing thereto is sufficient."[1] Bishop Hooper distinctly stated, " I believe the Church is bound to no sort of ministers or any ordinary succession of bishops . . but unto the only Word of God."[2] Thomas Becon, Cranmer's Chaplain, asks, " What is the difference between a bishop and a spiritual minister ? " and replies, " None at all, their office is one and their authority and power is one."[3]

Moreover, it is not without significance in this connection to notice that although the " Preface " to the Ordinal insists strongly on the maintenance of the Orders of bishops, priests and deacons yet the same passage (1 Tim. iii., 1), " If any man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work," was appointed as the " Epistle," both for " Consecrating Bishops " and for the " Ordering of Priests," while the presbyter, about to be consecrated bishop, is exhorted " to stir up the grace of God which *is in thee.*" This selection of Scriptural references seems to imply a tacit recognition of Cranmer's assertion of the original identity of the two offices, which, as Archbishop Usher also declared in the next century, " differed in rank but not in order."

Has the Reformed Anglican Church Taught the Necessity of Episcopal Ordination ?

It has, however, been stoutly maintained that the Reformed Anglican Church, in marked contrast to the other Reformed Churches, has always taught and held

[1] *Works* II., 117.
[2] *Later Writings*, 90.
[3] *Works* II., 319.

the necessity of episcopal ordination for the exercise of a valid ministry, and as a consequence has " never authoritatively recognised persons in the ministry of the Reformed Churches " abroad as competent to minister within her borders.[1]

Similarly, Dean Hutton, at the Sheffield Church Congress, 1922, in describing episcopacy as that " which under the good hand of God made the Church one and built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets," and in defining it as " the transmission of the right and power to minister in God's name to the people through the laying on of a bishop's hands," declared that a current idea of some Church people that " the notion of transmission was not part of the Reformation teaching, but was introduced into England less than one hundred years ago by the Tractarians," " was historically speaking absurd."[2] Now in plain language this means that the Reformers held that any organised body of Christians not enjoying episcopal government was outside the unity of the Catholic Church, and that no minister possessed the right or the necessary grace to " minister in God's Name " unless he had been episcopally ordained. I greatly wish that Dean Hutton had taken the trouble to give a few proofs of this, to him, incontrovertible " historical fact ? "

We are in this study chiefly concerned with the history of the Elizabethan period ; and so have to consider whether such statements as these are warranted by its known facts. We have already noticed the fully acknowledged unity of doctrine, as well as the close friendship and fellowship which existed between the Elizabethan and the Swiss Reformed divines, and this in itself would lead us to require the most clear and conclusive evidence for the thesis that the Anglicans actually denied the validity of the Orders and sacraments of their intimate friends and counsellors ! It is generally admitted, however,

[1] Denny, *The Eng. Ch. and the Ministry of the Reformed Churches*, 85.

[2] *Record.* Report, 22 Oct., 1922.

that they have left no direct statements affirming such principles, but it is contended that this was due to the peculiar circumstances by which they were surrounded. Keble's well-known admission, at least by implication, supports this plea, when he declares that it was enough for the Elizabethan bishops "to show that the episcopal government was ancient and allowable, they never *ventured* to urge its exclusive claim or to connect it with the validity of the Holy Sacraments."[1] Bishop Gibson, also, while freely admitting that the language of the Articles goes no further than asserting "episcopacy to be an allowable form of Church government," leaving it "an open question whether it is the only one,"[2] distinctly asserts that Elizabethan churchmen were "concerned mainly to defend Episcopacy" on this ground, "rather than as a system of divine origin," because "they were exposed to the violent attacks of the party of the exiles on the whole system of Church government."[3]

Now apart from the exceeding improbability that the Elizabethan churchmen would have weakened their case for episcopacy by refraining to set forth its most powerful fundamental claim, the reason urged here for their policy does not square with the facts, at least as they existed for the first 14 years of the reign, for not only is there no evidence during this period and especially *in* 1562 *when the Articles were revised*, (and as regards the Ministry, *finally* revised), that even the extreme or "Puritan" party of the exiles were "violently opposed" to episcopacy, but there is direct evidence to the contrary. They were certainly "violently opposed" to such ceremonies as the sign of the Cross in baptism, and the ring in marriage and to the imposition of the habits, i.e., the wearing of the square cap and surplice by the minister; but they did not refuse to accept the

[1] *Preface* to Hooker's Works, LIX.
[2] *Articles*, II, 704.
[3] *Articles*, I., 52.

episcopal polity. John Foxe, the martyrologist, was probably the most staunch of the Puritan section of the exiles in his opposition to the "habits," yet he is most clear when he says, "In the ecclesiastical state we take not away distinction of ordinary degrees such as by the scripture be appointed or by the Primitive Church be allowed, as patriarch, archbishop, bishops, ministers and deacons . . . In which four degrees as we grant diversity of office, so we admit in the same, diversity of dignity . . . For we give to the Minister (or priest) place above the deacon, to the bishop above the minister, to the archbishop above the bishop . . . And this to keep an order duly and truly in the Church."[1] Again Humphrey and Sampson, the most influential divines of the Puritan party, in writing to Bullinger in 1566, complain solely concerning the imposition of the habits on the Puritan clergy, and expressly state "we have always thought well of the bishops."[2]

Cartwright and the Extreme Puritans on Episcopacy.

It was not until the preaching of Cartwright at Cambridge and the issue of the "Admonition to Parliament" in 1571 that a new phase of opposition was commenced with a denial of the scriptural authority of episcopal government and the intolerant advocacy of the presbyterian platform. The statements of the Bishops at the time make this abundantly clear. Bishops Grindal and Horn, writing to Bullinger and Gualter in 1567, declare distinctly, "no differences of opinion except in the affair of the habits have hitherto arisen among our brethren."[3] But writing in 1573 Grindal speaks of "virulent pamphlets" as then current "in which almost the whole external polity of our Church is attacked." "For they maintain

[1] Strype *Annals*, I. 208.
[2] *Zurich Letters*, I. 162.
[3] *Zurich Letters*, I., 176.

that archbishops and bishops should be altogether reduced to the ranks, that ministers of the Church ought to be elected solely by the people; that they ought all to be placed on an equality . . . a consistory should be established consisting of ministers and elders who are alone able to decide upon all ecclesiastical affairs, that the Church of England has scarcely the appearance of a Christian Church. *They are young men who disseminate these opinions* . . . but yet, I am glad to say, that Humphrey and Sampson and some others, who heretofore moved the question about the ceremonies, *are entirely opposed to this party.*"[1] Bishop Sandys also, writing in the same year specifically outlines the principles of this presbyterian party, and describes its advocates as "*new* orators . . . foolish *young* men . . . seeking the complete overthrow and rooting up of our whole ecclesiastical polity, so piously constituted and confirmed and established by the *entire* consent of most excellent men." Bishop Cox at the same time makes a similar complaint to Gualter, about "factious and heady men," who "condemn the whole economy of our Church" and "wish to revive the ancient presbytery of the primitive Church and establish such an equality among all the ministers that they may be despised and rejected even by the Church itself."[2]

It is obvious, therefore, that since this was an entirely new Puritan phase of opposition, there was nothing to prevent Elizabethan Churchmen in 1562 from stating in their Articles the necessity of the "transmission" of episcopal Orders to empower men to "minister in God's Name" in the Catholic Church. Thus it is clearly incorrect to state that in 1562, "when the Articles received their final form (and those relating to the Ministry were not afterwards altered), "English Churchmen were . . . engaged in severe struggle

[1] *Ibid*, I., 192.
[2] *Ibid*, I., 295 and 285.

with a strong Presbyterian party who objected to episcopacy altogether."[1] Moreover, although it is possible that the Elizabethan Reformers, even if they held episcopacy to be a *necessary* form, should have refrained from stating this doctrine in 1562, when its *lawfulness was not being challenged*, it is scarcely conceivable that in 1571, when *it was being vigorously denied*, they should have been content, on the ratification of the Articles that year, to have defended episcopacy as Bishop Gibson suggests, as merely "an allowable form"!

Parker and Whitgift on Episcopacy.

Bishop Frere, however, in effect challenges the complete accuracy of Dean Hutton's statement when he admits that "many accepted Episcopacy as a fact *without holding it as a doctrinal necessity*." This is certainly not an overstatement! We would go further and ask, Is there any proof that any Elizabethan ecclesiastics of note did at this time hold episcopacy as "a doctrinal necessity"? Certainly their attitude towards the foreign Reformed would point to a negative answer. Dr. Frere indeed asserts positively that "episcopacy was with him (Archbishop Whitgift), as with Parker, a matter of principle, not as with Grindal, and others, a mere matter of policy."[2] It is very singular that Dr. Frere should venture to make such a categorical statement concerning Whitgift on this point. For he had been commissioned by Parker to reply to Cartwright, who had definitely denied the lawfulness of episcopacy and asserted the divine right of presbytery, and there can be little doubt that in that age of plain speaking, if Bishop Frere's statement be correct, Whitgift's reply would have been a clear counter assertion of the divine and exclusive right of episcopal government and a distinct denial of presbyterian Orders.

[1] Gibson *Articles*, 745.
[2] *Hist. of Eng. Ch.*, 126 and 224.

Instead we find that, like Grindal, he makes Episcopacy a mere matter of *expediency and policy, and not of fundamental principle.* He tells Cartwright that "as no certain manner or form of electing ministers is prescribed in Scripture, every Church may do therein as it shall seem most expedient," and he adds explicitly, "I condemn no Churches that have appointed any order for the electing of their pastors which they think agreeable to their State and most profitable for them.[1] Again, in maintaining against Cartwright that "the right of ordering and electing ministers doth appertain to the bishops, Whitgift explains "that in the Apostles' time there were divers manners of ordaining and electing ministers." Sometimes one ordained, sometimes many, "and my meaning is to prove that the electing and ordering of ministers doth appertain to bishops. *I do not say only to bishops* . . . for pastors, bishops, doctors, deacons, they be necessary ministers in the church, but it doth not therefore follow there must be always one kind and form of government."[2]

When we recall the fact that this "Answer" of Whitgift's was specially reviewed and approved by Archbishop Parker himself, it is not too much to say that he also shared these views of the Christian Ministry and episcopacy. We have further indirect confirmation of this inference, since we find Parker referring to Calvin as an "orthodox clergyman,"[3] which he surely could not have done if he had held that Calvin, by abandoning episcopacy for the Genevan Church, had thereby rejected the only true qualification for "ministering in God's Name to the people"? Neither does it seem credible that Parker held a doctrinal position midway between Rome and Geneva, when he writes concerning the Colloquy between the

[1] *Works*, I., 369.
[2] *Works*, I., 428, 368.
[3] *Correspondence*, 112.

Romanists and the Reformed at Poissy, "I wished that Mr. Martyr or Calvin, or both, could be procured thither, they were as able to stand in defence of a truth as the adversaries striving against God and against Christ . . . If we were all careful to help the re-edifying of so great a church as France is, to Christ again . . . it should tend to our own quiet at home to have more friends in conjunction of religion."[1] Instead of a *Via Media* position between Rome and Geneva, we get clear evidence here that Parker regarded the Romanists as "adversaries against God and against Christ," while he looked on the foreign Reformed divines as close allies, who by their faithful scriptural teaching might be able to restore the French Church "to Christ again."

It is not unimportant to notice in passing that the "truth" which Martyr thus defended at Poissy against the Papists was the Reformed Doctrine of the Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, and that his language is remarkably similar to that inserted in the XXVIIIth Article a year later, "I hold that the real and substantial body is only in heaven, but yet that the faithful communicants do, by faith, in a *spiritual manner*, verily receive His very Body and very Blood, which for us were delivered unto the Cross . . . The Lord's Supper is a heavenly matter, although we receive on earth bread and wine with our bodily mouth, yet by faith and the help of the Holy Spirit, our souls being raised to heaven enjoy the present Body and Blood of Christ."[2]

Elizabethan Reformers and the Scotch Reformation

It is difficult also to believe with Dean Hutton that "the Reformers regarded the possession of episcopacy to be necessary for the unity of the Catholic Church," when we recall the joy of so many of their chief leaders at the progress of the Scotch Reformation, where Epis-

[1] *Ibid*, 147.
[2] Gorham *Reformation Gleanings*, 425.

copacy had been definitely rejected. Bishop Jewel, who had replied to Harding, "Is it so horrible an heresy to say by the Scriptures of God that bishop and priest are all one?" writes in 1562, "religion is most favourably received, firmly maintained, and daily making progress in that country. They say, however that the queen of Scots still retains her mass. God will, I trust, some time open her eyes." There is no hint that Jewel looked on the Anglican Church as occupying a *via media* position as against the Scots who had broken "the unity of the Catholic Church" by forsaking an historic episcopal ministry, when he speaks of two parties in Scotland—one the papists who were "enemies to godliness," and the other the presbyterians, "who cherish *the pure religion of the gospel*." Similarly Bishop Cox in the same year records, "Our neighbours, the Scots, thank God! are happily furthering the Gospel," while Bishop Parkhurst four years later writes, "Let us intreat God for our pious brethren. The queen (Mary) ordered some pious nobleman to turn Knox, who was residing with him, out of his house. May the Lord either convert or confound her!" Bishop Grindal declares in the same year, "The Churches indeed still retain the pure confession of the Gospel, but the queen of Scotland seems to be doing all in her power to extirpate it"[1] Moreover, the actions and attitude of the Elizabethan clergy all point to their retention of Episcopacy as a matter of expediency and well-being rather than one of fundamental principle. If this had not been the case it is inconceivable that Archbishop Grindal, even though his sympathies may have been with what Dr. Frere describes as the "Exilic Band," should have been permitted without question to issue an official licence to a Scotch Presbyterian divine allowing him to minister throughout the Province of Canterbury, and describing him to have been ordained "According *to the laudable*

[1] *Zurich Letters*, I., 105, 128, 115, 167, 169.

form and rite of the reformed Church of Scotland."[1] On the other hand, a natural corollary to this statement is found in Canon 55 of 1604, which acknowledges this presbyterianly governed Church of Scotland to be a branch of "Christ's Holy Catholic Church." There was surely also a clear recognition of the lawful standing of a non-episcopal Church, when Grindal, as bishop of London, accepted the office of superintendent of the Dutch Reformed Church in London, and in that capacity excommunicated one of its members?[2]

The Later Elizabethan Divines and Episcopacy

When we turn to the second generation of Elizabethan divines we also fail to find any advocacy of the doctrine that Episcopal Orders are the sole channel through which a true ministry can be performed "in God's Name to the people." Exasperated as they undoubtedly were by the extreme Puritan denial of the lawfulness of Episcopacy and the assertion of the exclusive divine right of a presbyterian polity, they never in reply advanced further than to assert the divine or apostolical right of episcopacy and its necessity *where it could be had, without superstition or error*, that is outside the Roman Church.

It would not appear that Bancroft went quite as far as this either in his famous sermon at Paul's Cross in 1589 or in his "Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline" (1593). Dr. Usher is probably correct when he declares that "Bancroft's strongest defence of episcopacy lay not in the plea of right but in the plea of expediency"[3] For although he asserts, against Cartwright's claim for a presbyterian polity, that Episcopacy was a "right honourable and lawful calling . . . appointed in the Apostles' time for the right order and government of Christ's Church," he is careful to state that the

[1] Strype *Life of Grindal*, 402.
[2] See Strype *Annals*, I., 119.
[3] *Reconstruction of Eng. Ch.* I., 57.

Apostolic succession of the bishops is only effectual "so long as the Apostles' doctrine did concur therewithal and that the Fathers in urging the first had ever an especial eye to the second."[1] Bishop Cooper in his "Admonition to the People of England" (1589) freely admits that in all the foreign non-episcopal Churches, "in which the Gospel in these days, after great darkness, was just renewed," "the learned men whom God sent to instruct them" "have been directed by the Spirit of God to retain this liberty, that in external government and other outward orders they might choose such as they thought in wisdom and godliness to be most convenient for the state of their country and the disposition of the people" (pp. 61/3 Lond., 1847).

Bishop Hall, a generation later, went as far as to declare that those deliberately forsaking the Divine Institution of episcopacy "where it could be had," violated God's ordinance, but he justified the foreign Reformed Churches under the plea of necessity, and thus told the Scotch, who had just overthrown a scriptural and uncorrupt form of Episcopacy, "We can at once tenderly respect *them* and justly censure *you*"[2] It is practically certain that the foreign Reformers would have justified Hall in drawing this distinction, since Calvin expressly declared, "Give us such an hierarchy in which bishops preside, who are subject to Christ, and Him alone, as their only Head, and then I will own no curse too bad for him that shall not pay the utmost respect and obedience to such an hierarchy as that."[3] Beza not only hoped that the English Church might "for ever enjoy that singular blessing of God," episcopacy, but told Grindal of the "bitter sorrow of heart" with which he learnt that some in England were separating from the Church.[4] He also wrote to Whitgift

[1] *Survey*, chs. xxvii. and xxx.
[2] *Works*, IX., 160 and 517.
[3] Bingham *Works*, VIII., 209.
[4] *Responsio ad Saravia*, cap 18, Ep. 23 ad Grindal.

that he never intended "to condemn the government of the English Church but the anti-Christian tyranny of the Romish bishops."[1] The French minister at Charenton, de l'Angle, told the Bishop of London in 1680 (Oct. 31) that since the Church of England was a true Church with pure doctrine and worship, those who under the pretence of obtaining simpler ceremonies and "*less of inequality among ministers*," separated from her, "do certainly commit a very great sin."[2]

Hooker had definitely stated that the Church had power to dispense with "tyrannical and unreformable" bishops since episcopacy was a custom maintained rather from its beneficial use, than a "truth" that "the Lord Himself hath appointed presbyters for ever to be under the regiment of bishops."[3] It is impossible that the later, any more than the earlier Elizabethan Church leaders, could have held that the foreign Reformers had broken the unity of the Catholic Church by organising themselves on a presbyterian basis, when we remember that Rogers, Archbishop Bancroft's Chaplain, in 1609 published his "Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England" expressly "to prove to all men" that the Anglican Articles "were agreeable both to the written Word of God and to the extant Confessions of all neighbour Churches Christianly reformed . . . . . in all *matters of chiefest importance and fundamental points of religion*"[4] In this commentary, while he clearly states that ordination of bishops and ministers "was always principally committed to bishops," yet in dealing with Article XXIII. concerning the necessity of ministers being "lawfully called and sent," he adds "all this is acknowledged by the Reformed Churches" (p. 230), which he could not have said had he held the opinion

[1] Strype *Whitgift* Bk., IV., ch. 7.
[2] Stillingfleet *Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 421-2, Lond., 1681.
[3] *E.P.*, VII., 5, 8.
[4] *Articles*, p. 20.

that this lawful "calling and sending" could only be obtained through episcopal ordination. We may reasonably claim also that Rogers' view was endorsed by Archbishop Bancroft, since he ordered his book to be widely disseminated throughout his Province. Moreover, at the consecration of three presbyterian ministers, as bishops for the newly organised Scotch Church only three years later, Bancroft explicitly stated that "where bishops could not be had, orders given by presbyters must be reckoned lawful, that unless that were granted, the calling and character of the ministry in most of the Reformed Churches might be questioned."[1]

Similarly Bishop Andrewes, in writing to the French Reformed divine Peter du Moulin, declared, "This is not to damn your Church to recall it to another form that all antiquity was better pleased with, *i.e.*, to our, but this when God shall grant the opportunity, and your estate may bear it . . . Something may be lacking that is of divine right (at least in external government) and yet salvation may be had."[2]

Were Foreign Non-episcopal "Orders" Recognised?

Probably the strongest evidence that the Elizabethan Church did not deny the validity of a non-episcopal ministry is its practice of permitting men ordained in the foreign Reformed Churches, after the presbyterian form, to minister in the Anglican Church. Several instances of this sort occurred and the Act passed in 1571 (13 Eliz. Cap. 12) was evidently regarded as sanctioning this exception from the National rule concerning ordination, since it merely required those who had "any other form of institution, consecration or ordering" than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of Edward VIth, to assent and subscribe to the doctrinal Articles of Religion. Strype asserts that "the intention of this Act was undoubtedly to

[1] Spottiswood, *Ch. Hist.*, Bk., VII., p. 514.
[2] *Three Letters to Peter du Moulin Answered*, p. 24., ed., 1647.

comprehend Papists and likewise such as received their Orders in some of the Reformed Churches when they were in exile under Queen Mary."[1] Bishop Cosin is also evidently referring to this Act, when in declaring in 1650 that from his knowledge many presbyterian ministers from the French Reformed Church had received "public charge and *cure* of *souls* among us in the Church of England" and that "our bishops did not re-ordain them before admitting them to their charges," he adds, "*nor did our laws require more of them* than to declare their public consent to the religion received amongst us, and to subscribe the Articles established."[2]

In spite of this clear statement, supported as it can be by others of an equally definite nature made by Bishops Hall, Fleetwood and Burnet, it is urged that there is no proof that foreign non-episcopal ministries were ever officially recognised as lawful in the Anglican Church! It is argued that these foreign Reformed clergy were regarded as mere laymen and received their ecclesiastical preferments by the survival of a corrupt custom which existed in mediæval times whereby laymen and even boys often received appointments to benefices and enjoyed their emoluments without possessing the "cure of souls." "Godly ministers ordained at Zurich or Geneva" were, Bishop Frere asserts, "as ineligible as laymen for benefices with cures of souls and could only hold benefices, prebends and the like on the same terms as laymen and according to a custom which was being fast discredited and abolished by the bishops."[3] That such a practice existed is undeniable, but it was, as Bishop Frere rightly observes, discredited after the Reformation and very soon disappeared altogether, and to urge that it applied to the cases of the foreign Reformed divines ministering in England is utterly devoid of proof and directly contradictory,

[1] *Annals*, II., 71.
[2] *Works*, I., 2.
[3] *Hist. of Eng. Ch.*, 126.

for instance, to Archbishop Grindal's official license to the Scotch divine, Morrison, in 1582, "*to celebrate the divine offices, and minister the Sacraments* throughout the whole Province of Canterbury."

Disputed Cases. (a) Whittingham

It is necessary, however, carefully to examine certain cases which arose during this period where the exercise of non-episcopal Orders in the Church was questioned, and which, therefore, are alleged as proof that such ministry was never officially allowed, even in the case of foreign Reformed divines. It is impossible to consider these cases rightly unless we bear carefully in mind the strict views then universally held concerning nationality and uniformity in religion. It is quite misleading to interpret XVIth or XVIIth century actions by XXth century conditions! Toleration of differing religious practices was then unknown,[1] and the *cujus regio ejus religio* principle was most rigidly enforced. Episcopal ordination was the National legal

[1] This statement is well illustrated by a proclamation issued in 1602 by Elizabeth with reference to the hopes of the Romanists to obtain a modified liberty of conscience if they could secure the withdrawal of the Jesuit priests, nearly all of whom were plotting to assassinate or dethrone the Queen, "They [the secular priests] do almost insinuate into the minds of all sorts of people (as well the good that grieve at it, as the bad that thirst after it) that we have some purpose to grant a toleration of two religions within our realm, where God (we thank Him for it, who seeth into the secret places of all hearts) doth not only know our innocency from such an imagination, but how far it hath been from any about us to offer to our ears the persuasion of such a course, as would not only disturb the peace of the Church, but bring this our state into confusion" (S.P. Dom. Eliz. 285., No. 55).

Her chief minister, Lord Burleigh, also confirms this general opinion when he declares that "there could be no government where there was division, that the State could never be in safety where there was a toleration of two religions; that they that differ in the service of God can never agree in the service of their country" (A contemporary Life of Lord Burleigh in Peek's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Bk. 1-33, 1779).

requirement for the Anglican ministry, and therefore for an *Englishman* to endeavour to evade or frustrate this law or to advocate or secretly connive at another method of receiving Orders, was not regarded as a mere act of schism, but also one of *rebellion*. A recollection of this crucial fact will explain much that would otherwise seem contradictory or inconsistent in the actions and utterances of the ecclesiastical authorities of the period. One of the best known cases is that of Whittingham, appointed Dean of Durham in 1563.[1] He was a strong Puritan and persistently refused to wear the "habits." A special Royal Commission had ordered a Visitation of Durham Cathedral, in which Whittingham was cited "for administering the Communion without wearing either cope or surplice," and it was further objected against him that "he was not made Minister according to the laws of this realm, but is mere *laicus* and so to be deprived." Sandys affirmed that "his ministry was not warranted by the Law of the Realm, as being made Minister by a few mean men and lay persons in a private house at Geneva, without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Calvin, the chief Minister thereof."[2] It is quite obvious on reading the whole account that the question at issue was not the sufficiency of non-episcopal Orders, but whether he had received *any* proper ordering at all? Whittingham protested that he had received his ordination according to the usual form of the Church of Geneva and we get a valuable insight into the contemporary estimate of foreign Reformed Orders from the remark of the Dean of York that "he was in better sort ordained than our ministers in England." The

[1] There seems no reason to question the accuracy of Strype's account of this case, which is based on the report of Archbishop Sandys' Chancellor (preserved in Rymer's *Collections of Records*), who was himself one of the Royal Commissioners who examined Whittingham, as well as on Sandys' own letter in the Burghlean MSS.

[2] *Annals*, III., 323.

Lord President of the Council, who evidently accepted Whittingham's explanation, declared that "he could not agree to deprive him simply for his Genevan Orders, for it could not but be ill taken of all the godly learned both at home and in the Reformed Churches abroad, that we should allow of Popish massing priests in our Ministry and disallow of Ministers made in a Reformed Church." Sandys, however, affirmed that Whittingham had been merely elected without any ordination rites by the English congregation at Geneva, and stoutly repudiated the implication that he had intended to question the validity of foreign Reformed Orders. He explained to Lord Burleigh, "The discredit of the Church of Geneva is hotly alleged, *verily my Lord that Church is not touched.* For he hath not received his Ministry in that Church, or by any authority or order from that Church, so far as yet appears."[1] The Dean's death soon after ended the dispute.

(b) Travers

Another familiar case is that of Walter Travers, lecturer at the Temple Church. He not only scrupled the "habits," but belonged to the new Puritan party which denounced episcopal Orders as unscriptural. He therefore had secretly obtained foreign ordination from a presbytery at Antwerp, a flagrant defiance and evasion of the laws of his own country.[2] It is probable that even this action would have been connived at had he

[1] Strype's *Annals*, II., 521-4, and Appen. No. XIII.

[2] Travers endeavoured to defend this action on the ground that as he took "a place of ministry among the people of that Nation," he "saw no cause why he should have returned over the Seas for Orders here," and that to have done so would have been equivalent to "disallowing the Orders of the Churches provided in the Country" (Hooker's "Works," III., 385 (1793.)) But there is little doubt that his temporary sojourn at Antwerp, and the acceptance of ministry there, was a deliberate device to enable him to avoid the Episcopal ordination of the Church of his own country.

peaceably pursued his ministry instead of deliberately controverting the teaching of Hooker, the Master of the Temple. There was naturally, as Fuller quaintly expresses it, "much heaving and throwing at 'Travers' as one disaffected to the discipline."[1] At length he was suspended, one of the charges against him being that he had disobeyed "the laws of this realm," which "require such as are to be allowed as ministers in this Church of England should be ordered by a bishop and subscribe the Articles before him." Travers urged that many foreign Reformed ministers were then holding benefices in England without question, and he appealed to the Statute XIII. Eliz., cap. XII., as legalising such non-episcopal ministries. Whitgift replied that he personally "knew none such and yet *their case is far differing from his.*" He explains this *difference* when he adds, "Mr. Travers misliking the Order of his country, ran to be ordered elsewhere, by such as had no authority to ordain him" [that is, as an Englishman], "*to the contempt of the ministry of this Church,* and the manifest maintenance of schism." "As well," he continues, "may Mr. Cartwright and his adherents now make Ministers at Warwick *to serve in this Church of England,* as he, Villiers, might have done at Antwerp." And in rebutting Travers' reference to Whittingham's case he adds, "his case and Mr. Travers' are nothing like, for he in times of persecution was ordained Minister by those which had authority in the Church persecuted. But Mr. Travers in the time of Peace, *refusing to be made Minister at home,* gaddeth into other countries, to be ordained by such as had no authority, *condemning thereby the kind of Ordering of Ministers at home,*"[2] It is quite clear that in this case Travers' foreign non-episcopal Orders were condemned not as intrinsically invalid, but because they had been

[1] *Ch. Hist.* III., 126. Travers endeavoured to introduce the custom of standing instead of kneeling at the Communion.

[2] Strype *Whitgift,* Bk. III., No. XXX., p. 108.

exploited as a rebellious and illegal means of subverting the episcopal government of the Anglican Church. Moreover the Anglican authorities naturally repudiated the infringement of national ecclesiastical jurisdiction committed by Dutch ministers presuming to ordain *Englishmen* to minister in *the English* Church! It was a perfectly consistent distinction which allowed them at the same time to permit Adrian Saravia, a Dutchman, ordained in the Dutch Reformed Church, to hold successive benefices and preferments, without episcopal Orders, in the English Church. He had conformed to the laws of his own Church concerning ordination, whereas Travers had deliberately flouted the known rules of his!

(c) Saravia

It has been contended[1] that since Saravia was a strenuous advocate of episcopacy in all consistency he must certainly have sought re-ordination from a bishop when in England. Apart from the fact that there is no record of such action, the plea is very overstrained, since the Dutch Reformed ministers not only did not deny the lawfulness of episcopacy, but lamented that circumstances had deprived them of it. It is fortunate, however, that Saravia himself has stated his opinion of the validity of presbyterian ministries, in cases of necessity, very clearly. "Although I am of opinion that the Ordinations of ministers properly belong to bishops, yet necessity causes, that when they are wanting and cannot be had, orthodox presbyters can, in case of necessity, ordain a presbyter, which thing although it is not in accordance with the order, received since the time of the Apostles, yet it is excused by the necessity of the case." After remarking that the Romish bishops were all heretics and no one ought to receive Orders from an heretical bishop, Saravia adds, "This is also true, that in such a state of confusion

[1] Denny, u.s., 71-2.

in the Church, when all bishops fall away from the true worship of God unto idolatry, without any violation of the government of the Church the whole authority of the episcopal ecclesiastical government is devolved upon the pious and orthodox presbyters, so that a presbyter may ordain presbyters . . . the higher orders being in a way removed, those who are of the lowest grade alone remain, with whom consequently the whole power of the keys of the Church resides . . . where all bishops are become impious heretics, the orthodox presbyters are freed from their jurisdiction and ought to vindicate to themselves the power of the keys which they have received in ordination." There is little doubt that Saravia regarded the Dutch Reformed Church as being in exactly the position he describes, so that it is most unlikely he would, by seeking *episcopal* ordination, have practically denied the presbyterian orders which he had received in a Church where, by *necessity*, " the whole authority of the episcopal ecclesiastical government " had devolved upon the pious and orthodox presbyters." Had he done so he could scarcely have maintained that Beza and others, " not ordained by the Romish bishops," " did not take upon themselves the ministry of the Word of God *without a legitimate calling* received in the Churches of Christ."[1]

Moreover it is at least doubtful whether Saravia would have found an Elizabethan bishop willing to wound the foreign Reformed Churches by such an action. Bancroft deliberately refrained from re-ordaining the Scotch presbyters in 1610 as Anglican " priests," while Bishop Morton in 1620 definitely refused the suggestion of the ex-Romanist Archbishop of Spalato that he should thus re-ordain a foreign Reformed divine declaring that "it could not be done but to the scandal of the Reformed Churches in which he would

[1] *De diversis gradibus Ministrorum Evangelii*, p. 18 32/3, *Latin Works* 1601.

have no hand."[1] In order therefore to establish a substantial case against the official recognition of *foreign* presbyterian ministries in England it would be necessary to produce an instance of such a minister being compelled to receive episcopal ordination before being allowed to exercise his ministry, and this in view of the foregoing statements is not likely to be discovered. For the other cases which are brought forward will usually be found to be similar to that of Travers, that is, attempts to evade or thwart in a clandestine manner the clearly expressed law of the realm.

(d) Wright

Bishop Frere cites the case of Robert Wright as being "convented in 1582 for taking upon himself to minister, having only received Presbyterian orders at Antwerp."[2] Wright was an Englishman, apparently of extreme Puritan convictions, since he was accused of depraving the Anglican ministry, calling ministers "dumb dogs," thieves and murderers. He certainly denied most of these charges, although he admitted that he had acted as private Chaplain to Lord Rich before he had received any ordination. Bishop Aylmer refused an application for a public Preacher's license for Wright at this time, "when he understood I was no minister," but shortly after Wright went to Antwerp and while there received presbyterian Orders. The Bishop then evidently on another appeal by Lord Rich, desired proof that he "was ordained minister," and also refused to grant him a license until he would subscribe to the orders of the Church. *The question of his foreign Orders does not appear in the charges made against him,* for which he was imprisoned for nearly a year, but had it done so, his case would have been almost identical with that of Travers. On his promise to "allow of the ministry

[1] Neal *Hist of Puritans*, II., 358.
[2] *Hist of Eng. Ch.*, 230.

of the Church of England and the Prayer Book, and not to preach against them," the Bishop was apparently willing to favour his suit, and allow him to preach again. Bishop Frere would hardly seem, therefore, to have given an accurate description of Wright's offence, which in any case does not affect the recognition of regularly acquired foreign non-episcopal Orders.[1]

We should also remember that concurrently with the rise of Puritan and Separatist parties denouncing episcopacy, conventicles were formed where presbyterian ordination was secretly given even to men already in episcopal orders, while a perfected organisation of presbyterian classes, provincial and national synods was being clandestinely inaugurated. As Bancroft declared in his sermon at Paul's Cross, " They propose not a reformation, but a substitution, a total subversion of our government and the establishment of their own in its place." Moreover, owing to the scarcity of preachers, early in the reign, " Readers," with carefully defined and limited powers, had been appointed to serve vacant parishes, but many of these, like John Wesley's preachers in the XVIIIth century, apparently soon endeavoured to usurp the special duties of the regular clergy. When, therefore, we find in many of the episcopal Visitation Articles such injunctions as " that none be permitted to preach or interpret the Scriptures, unless he be a priest or deacon at the least, admitted thereunto according to the laws of this realm,"[2] it is no evidence whatever of an intention to condemn or forbid the exercise of a foreign non-episcopal ministry in the Church. Rather were they designed either to prevent any of these secretly ordained presbyterians from ministering in the parish churches, (and so to override the laws of their country regarding episcopal ordination) or to restrain the over-zealous " Reader " from

[1] *Cf.* Strype *Annals*, III., 123-4 and Appen. 39-42, and *Aylmer*, pp. 55-7, 1821.

[2] Cardwell *Doc. Annals*, I., 468.

usurping functions not belonging to his office. In fact Grindal heads a similar injunction "For the laity."[1]

The Policy of the Elizabethan Church

Although in this way the Elizabethan Church preserved and enforced her own national "Use" for ordination, there is clear evidence both from the statements of her chief divines, as well as from her official recognition of foreign presbyterian ministries within her borders, that she refused to exalt this "Use" as the sole exclusive channel for conveying the right "to minister in God's Name to the people." The policy pursued by the ecclesiastical authorities as visible from the history of the period, seems to be both clear and consistent. They clung tenaciously to episcopacy on the ground of ancient Catholic usage as well as of national expediency. They were determined, in accordance with the prevalent intolerant theory of "national" religions, that *no Englishman*, of set purpose otherwise "ordered," should be allowed to minister in the churches, or indeed out of them, but "in these their doings they condemned no other nations," but prescribed rules "for their own people only."[2] This exclusive National rule was therefore relaxed whenever, for any cause, a stranger from a sister Reformed Church, even if observing a different polity, or even an Englishman who had been ordained by such a Church "of necessity," wished to minister among them. On the doctrine of the Church and the Ministry, therefore, there is no justification for the contention that the Elizabethan Settlement adopted a *via media* position with doctrinal intention between Rome and Geneva.

[1] Cardwell, *u.s.*, I., 370.
[2] *Of Ceremonies*, P.B.

Chapter V

RITUAL USAGE

(a) *The Ornaments Rubric of* 1559

The Anglican, in common with the general body of the Reformers, held that there was no such thing as a uniform or obligatory Catholic usage, and since, as they declared, ceremonies had their origin "by the institution of man," they maintained that "every country should use such Ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory."[1] This was one of the main points at issue between the Reformers and their opponents, and accordingly one of the questions propounded for debate between the Papists and the Protestants at the "Westminster Disputation" in 1559 was that "every particular Church hath authority to institute, change or abrogate ceremonies and rites in the Church, so that it be to edify." The Protestants explain that by "every particular church" we understand "every particular kingdom, province or region, which by order make one Christian Society or body, according to the distinction of countries and orders of the same.' And by "ceremonies and rites of the Church" they declare that "we understand these ceremonies and rites, which neither expressly, neither by necessary deduction or consequence, are commanded or forbidden in the Scriptures, but are things of their own nature indifferent."[2] The Elizabethan Churchmen were careful to safeguard and vindicate this claim by adding a special clause

[1] *Of Ceremonies.*

[2] Cardwell, *Hist of Conferences*, 73.

to Article XXXIV. at the revision in 1563. This definitely and officially reaffirmed the position they had taken at the Disputation, in its statement that "every particular or National Church hath authority to ordain, change and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

The Reformers had made full use of this authority in the sweeping changes and alterations which they made in the traditional mediæval Catholic ritual and ceremonial when they put forth their two Prayer Books during Edward VIth reign. Certainly it is not too strong language to describe these changes as "sweeping" when we remember that a clause in the Act of Uniformity 1549, distinctly ordered that ministers must conduct *all* the services "in such order and form as is *mentioned* in the said book *and none other or otherwise.*" By thus forbidding any alterations either by way of additions or omissions all the pre-Reformation ritual and usage was implicitly prohibited, *unless* it was specifically ordered or mentioned in, or at least was plainly subsidiary to, the rubrics of the new Prayer Book. This same clause was maintained in the Act of Uniformity, 1552. It is most important to examine carefully whether the position finally taken up then (*i.e.*, in 1552) regarding ritual usage, was maintained under the Elizabethan Settlement, or whether such a change was effected which would justify Dr. Frere's assertion that the 1559 liturgy was "a deliberately balanced compromise," and "a transformed Edwardine Book."[1] It is very necessary in dealing with this intricate subject, which during the last fifty years has become so highly controversial, to be most careful to establish clearly every historical fact and statement as we proceed. It is important first of all to notice that the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity differed from both the earlier Edwardine and the later Restoration Acts in *not* annexing a new revised Prayer

[1] *Hist. of Eng. Ch.*, p. 28.

Book to the Statute. The Act not only made "void and of none effect" Mary's "Statute of Repeal" as regards King Edward's Second Book of Common Prayer, but it definitely re-enacted that Book to be "in full force and effect," with, as we have already seen, three carefully defined alterations and "none other or otherwise." We have abundant records to prove that this 1552 Prayer Book was not only used by the exiles on the Continent, but was secretly preserved for worship by the persecuted Protestants during Mary's reign. Probably, therefore, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, in most parishes there were concealed copies of this Book. These, with the three specified alterations inserted, would thus legally fulfil the conditions laid down for liturgical use by Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. Apparently these old books were so utilised, for on May 21st, 1559 (Bishop) Parkhurst told Bullinger that the Second Book of Edward VI. "is now again in general use throughout England,"[1] although the Act itself, which received the royal assent on April 29th, was still in the press on May 30th.

The Proviso of the Act of Uniformity

There was, however, at the conclusion of the Act a proviso, which has now become famous' concerning the "Ornaments of the Church and Ministers," which had to be borne in mind and complied with, although the Act gave no authority whatever for inserting its terms into the revived Edwardine Book, since this Proviso was not specified as one of the three alterations to be made in the text of the re-enacted liturgy of 1552. "Provided also and be it enacted," it ran, "that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof shall be retained, and be in use as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign

[1] *Zurich Letters*, I., 29.

of King Edward VI., until other order be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of the Commissioners appointed and authorised, under the great Seal of England, for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this realm."

When the new printed Prayer Books appeared they did not, however, conform to the requirement of the Act, since two of the rubrics of the revised 1552 Book were omitted and two fresh ones substituted. This alteration, which is generally admitted to have been illegal[1] was probably made for reasons of State policy, on the sole authority of the Crown. Thus the rubric directing the place for saying Morning and Evening Prayer was considerably altered in its wording, while the second rubric, which by the Statute should have read, "And here it is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment nor cope; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon he shall have and wear a surplice only," was completely changed, and the following combination of its phraseology, with the direction as to ornaments given in the Proviso of the Act was inserted, "Here it is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, *shall use* such ornaments *in the Church* as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI. according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this Book."[2] It is at once apparent that this rubric differs considerably from the wording of the Proviso. The latter does not instruct the minister to "use" the ornaments "*in the Church*," but directs that they should be "retained and be in use." The Proviso speaks of "as was in this Church of England," whereas

[1] See Parker *Hist of Revisions*, 344-5.

[2] It is not unimportant to notice that this illegal rubric was omitted in the Latin Prayer Book of 1560.

the rubric states "as were in use." Again the rubric states nothing concerning Ornaments of the *Church*, only those of the "Minister." Although the question was at one time hotly disputed it is now admitted by all competent authorities that the term "By the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of Edward VI." refers to the Act of Uniformity establishing the First Prayer Book of 1549.

Confining our attention at present to the ornaments of the *Minister*, it is necessary to notice exactly what were the ornaments authorised by that Book which the Proviso ordered "to be retained and be in use." The main direction for these was contained in "Certain Notes" at the end of the Book, where in parish churches and chapels for nearly all services, except Holy Communion, the Minister was enjoined to wear a surplice,[1] while the Bishop for *all* ministrations was to wear, besides a rochet, a surplice or alb, with a cope or vestment (Chasuble). Special directions were, however, given in the rubric before the Communion Service, that the Priest should then wear, not a surplice, but a "white alb plain with a vestment or cope" and the assistant ministers "albs with tunicles." Thus it will be seen that while the revived statutory rubric of 1559 required the Minister to use the surplice for *all* ministrations,[2] the illegal printed rubric required instead, for the Communion an alb with cope or chasuble.

The Chasuble

It is worthy of notice here that the latter vestment, although originally a common outdoor secular dress, had for several centuries prior to the Reformation been exclusively employed as the symbolically sacrificial garment for the celebration of Mass. In the Sarum

[1] "In all other places every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no."

[2] It clearly states "The Minister . . . shall use neither alb, vestment nor cope."

Pontifical, the priest, at his ordination, was invested with the chasuble with the words, "*accipe vestem sacerdotalem*," and on the delivery of the paten and chalice he was empowered "*offere sacrificium Deo. Missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis*"[1] It is this doctrinal symbolism of the vestments, and especially of the chasuble, which makes the historical question as to the exact ministerial dress ordered by the "Ornaments Rubric" one not merely of antiquarian interest, but of practical importance at the present time. For the chasuble was, and is still in the Roman Church, reserved as the distinctively "Mass" vestment for the priest who "offers the sacrifice," and those to-day who are most insistent on its re-introduction for the Anglican Communion Service do not scruple to declare that they value it because it "witnesses to the fact that the administration of the Lord's Supper is neither more nor less than the Mass in English."[2] If therefore it can be established that the Elizabethan Reformers really intended to authorise a Ritual Usage which included the chasuble for the Holy Communion, even though this would by implication, be directly at variance with their clearly expressed Eucharistic teaching, it would at least seem to favour the theory of their adoption of a *via media* doctrinal position between Rome and the other Reformed Churches. But even though the printed rubric was *ultra vires* it has been urged that its language was "the only *expositio contemporanea* of the Proviso in the Act."[3] This statement, however, strangely overlooks the letter

[1] Maskell *Monumenta Ritualia*, Vol. III., 209, 214.

[2] Lord Halifax as President of the Eng. Ch. Union in 1906 (*Church Times*, Feb. 23, 1906). Dr. Darwell Stone plainly states that the vestments have been restored because they are "an outward sign that in fundamental (Mass) doctrine the Church of England to-day is at one with the rest of the Catholic Church in the past and in the present" (*Faith of an Eng. Catholic*, 35).

[3] *The Ornaments of the Church*, etc., p. 66.

written by Sandys to Parker only two days after the passing of the Act, in which, commenting on the Proviso, he says, "Our gloss upon the text is that we shall not be forced to *use* them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen."[1] In other words Sandys evidently interpreted this injunction not as an order to the clergy to use ceremonially in divine service the ornaments of the First Prayer Book, but as a warning to the churchwardens, in whose custody they were, not to embezzle them for their own private benefit, but to keep them safely. They were "to be retained" "and be in use" or trust,[2] until "other order" should be taken for their disposal. Such a warning was very necessary, when we recall the embezzlement of Church goods which had gone on under the religious changes in Edward's reign. At the Royal Visitation of 1552 the Commissioners who "took order" regarding the discarded church goods were empowered not only to "sell to *our Use* all singular Copes, Vestments, altar cloths . . ."not then required, but also to discover if any ornaments had been embezzled or concealed and the profits "not employed or converted to the godly and lawful Uses of the said churches."[3] Moreover, it was an ancient common law right for the churchwardens to sell vestments "to the use of the Church." Bishop Gardiner in a letter to Bishop Ridley declares "Ever since I was born, a poor

[1] *Parker's Corres.*, p. 65.

[2] The term "in use" was a current legal phrase signifying "in trust." "Such like estates as they had or shall have *in use*, trust or confidence of in the same." (Statute of Uses 1536, *Cf.* Prayer Book Dictionary, p. 518 (1912).)

Again in the Visitation of 1553 we read of Church ornaments *e.g.*, copes and vestments, "delivered into the hands of the said wardens unto the *use* of the church, these to be occupied according to the effect of the Commission directed unto the Commissioners appointed for the *sale* of Church goods, and *other order* to be therein *taken* for the same" (*ibid.*, 704, n. 1).

[3] *Rot. Pat., Ed.* VI., pars. 7.

parishioner, a layman, durst be so bold at a shift (if he were churchwarden), to sell to the *use of the Church* . . . the silver cross on Easter Monday, that was creeped unto on Good Friday."[1]

The Printed Rubric and the Proviso

The Proviso was, therefore, most probably intended as a precaution that this right should not be exercised with regard to the 1549 ornaments, which the Statutory rubric of 1552 had now rendered superfluous for *ritual or ministerial use*, to the prejudice of the action of the Crown concerning them. They were, as Sandys said, not to be "conveyed away" by churchwardens, but "to remain for the Queen." In fact one of the questions addressed to the clergy in the Visitation Articles of 1559 directly after the passing of the Act, was "Whether they have monished their parishioners openly that they should not sell, give, nor otherwise alienate any of their Church goods,"[2] while the 47th of the Injunctions of 1559, which the Royal Commissioners were empowered to administer, required inventories to be delivered of all "vestments, copes, and other ornaments, plate, books, etc. . . . appertaining to the Church."[3]

But even if this reasonable explanation of the terms of the Proviso[4] be rejected and the 25th section of the Act is construed as granting a temporary employment of the 1549 ornaments, it seems difficult to question that "other Order," according to the Statute, was taken by the Royal Visitors in July, 1559, who in fact were the Queen's Commissioners for ecclesiastical Causes under the Great Seal, as required by the Proviso. The

[1] *Ridley's Works*, 498.
[2] Gee *Elizabethan Clergy*, 65.
[3] Gee and Hardy, *Docts. of Eng. Ch. Hist*, 435.
[4] Associated with the name of the late J. T. Tomlinson, whose extremely careful and accurate knowledge of this subject, based on a most exhaustive research and investigation, is unrivalled.

terms of their Commission were most comprehensive.[1] They acted "*Vice, nomine et auctoritate nostris*" and were empowered to examine, hear and finally terminate the causes instanced of every kind, and also to punish by ecclesiastical censures. The clergy were required to subscribe to the Royal Injunctions, which they were authorised to administer under pain of deprivation; while all ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction was prohibited during their Visitation. On the suspension of their powers, a royal writ bade them "deliver their acts registerd together *with the seal of their jurisdiction* in that behalf used, to our principal secretary."[2]

During the period of their visitation (Aug.-Oct., 1559) the Royal Commissioners ordered the destruction or utilisation and conversion for the benefit of the Church, of all the old ornaments now rendered illegal by the revived rubric of 1552. There are numerous records of the result of their taking of "other order." In London on August 24th were destroyed "all the roods and Maries and Johns and copes, crosses, censers, altar cloths, books . . . with much other gear"[3] while at Grantham "Vestments, copes, albs, tunicles . . . were defaced and openly sold and the money employed in setting up desks in the Church and the making of a decent Communion Table and the rest to the poor."[4]

At the same time obedience to the Statutory rubric was enforced upon the clergy by the 30th of the Royal Injunctions, which ordered that "both *in the Church* and without such seemly habits, garments and square

[1] See Gee *Eliz. Clergy*, 89.

[2] Gee *Eliz. Clergy*, 141.

The Marian Dean of Hereford who was deprived by this Commission, deposed at Rome in 1570 that he not only read the authority of the Commission to deprive and imprison all refusing to subscribe, but that he "saw no less the Queen's great seal" (P.B. Dict'y., 704, n. 3).

[3] Strype, *Grindal*, 37.

[4] See Gee *Eliz. Prayer Bk.*, 148.

caps" should be worn "as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of Edward VI., this being the year when the exclusive use of the surplice, for all ministrations, was in force in accordance with the rubric of the Second Prayer Book. It has been urged that this Injunction referred only to outdoor dress, but there had been no change *in this* in "the latter year of Edward VI.," and Archbishop Parker in his Visitation in 1561 inquires, "Whether your Divine service be used, and the sacraments administered in the manner and form prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, and none other way?"[1] Bishop Guest bases a similar inquiry on the Injunctions in 1565, and Parker and Grindal refer to their authority for public ministrations, in March, 1566.[2]

Were the Vestments Officially Restored?

In face of this officially authorised enforcement of the surplice, together with the destruction of the old ornaments, Bishop Frere actually refers to the actions of the Royal Commissioners as illegal, and apparently as being prompted by the reforming zeal of the people "bringing out ornaments and vestments to them as things defiled by idolatry and superstition."[3] He contends that the proviso had ordered "the restoration of popish garments," while he cites the "Interpretations"—some merely private draft episcopal suggestions, never published and of no authority,

[1] Strype, *Parker*, I., 146.

[2] Parker, *Corres.*, 268.

Parker explicitly declared that these Injunctions had authority by proviso of the statute, telling Cecil that Elizabeth regarded them as "the publishing of further order" in accordance with section 26 of the Act of Uniformity, which enacts that in cases of "contempt or irreverence" the Queen may "by the advice of her Commissioners or metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies or rites" as will promote most reverence (*Parker Corresp*, 375).

[3] *Hist. of Eng. Ch.*, 53.

—as tolerating a lower standard, viz., the cope for Communion and the surplice for other services, than the printed rubric required.[1] He even asserts that it is "generally admitted that at any rate for the next seven years, the law of both Church and State was expressed in the (printed) Ornaments Rubric; and that the use of the earlier set of Edwardian ornaments was in theory compulsory."[2] Bishop Gibson goes even further, and actually declares that the "Elizabethan *divines*," and not merely the Proviso or the non-statutory rubric in the Prayer Book, "had restored the use of . . . the eucharistic vestments"[3] To maintain, however, as these and other writers do, that the only legal vestments for the celebration of the Holy Communion, according to the Elizabethan Prayer Book and Act of Uniformity, were the alb with a vestment or cope, is to ignore or *render inexplicable* the official actions of the period. For not only is such a theory in flat contradiction to the thirtieth Injunction, which the bishops enforced on the clergy under pain of deprivation, but how are we to account for such Visitation queries as that of Bishop Parkhurst in 1561: "Whether any books of service, or vestments *not allowed by law* be reserved of any man" . . . and "whether any have heard mass since it was abrogated by law . . . reserveth vestments, superaltars and mass books or other instruments of this superstition."[4]

Such language is only intelligible if the 1552 rubric, which declared that the minister "shall use neither alb, vestment nor cope," is in force, and it agrees with the statement in the Second Book of Homilies, published in 1563, which after stating that "the vestures used in the Church in old time were very plain and single," declares that "this costly and manifold furniture of

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, 112.
[2] *Principles of Relig. Cerem.* I., 241.
[3] *Articles*, I., 40, note 1.
[4] *Second Rep. of Rit. Com.*, 402.

vestments of *late used in the Church* was fet [fetched] from Jewish usage."[1]

Their General Destruction

How again are we to account for the conduct of the ecclesiastical authorities, acting often as Royal Commissioners, who after demanding inventories of Church goods, ordered the defacing or conversion of the very ornaments asserted to be legal by the Proviso and rubric of 1559? There were still very many Marian clergy in livings and these certainly would have resisted such a contravention of the law if it had been possible, and in fact the most striking evidence that the eucharistic vestments of the 1549 Book were really *illegal* is found surely in the deprivation of Provost Baker of King's College Cambridge, "for papistry," because he ventured to resist Bishop Bullingham's order in 1565 to destroy "a great deal of popish stuff, as mass books, legends . . . copes, vestments, crosses, pyxes, etc."[2]

It is surely impossible to suppose that not one of the old Marian clergy could have effectively resisted the destruction of, and also have maintained his right to continue to use the chasuble, if it really was *definitely ordered* by the proviso and rubric? On the other hand, is it conceivable that all the bishops would have dared to order the destruction of chasubles, albs, tunicles, etc., if they were all perfectly legal vestments, as well as to enforce the ministerial use of the surplice only for the Communion, which, according to this view of the proviso, was distinctly illegal?

A similar order was given by a Royal Commission in 1573 for the destruction at Christ Church, Oxford, of all "Copes, vestments, albs, missals,"[3] while as late as 1628 Archbishop Laud asks in his Visitation Articles

[1] *Homilies and Canons*, 230-1.
[2] Strype, *Grindal*, 210-4, 1821.
[3] Gutch's *Collect. Curiosa*, II., 280

" Whether any secretly conceal any mass books, copes, vestments, albs or other ornaments of superstition uncancelled or undefaced ? "[1]

This theory, advanced by Dr. Frere and others, concerning the compulsory restoration for *ritual use* of the 1549 ornaments is also explicitly contradicted by the usage and testimony of the Elizabethan bishops themselves. Bishop Horn declares in 1565, " by the Act of Parliament which passed before our return [Latin " *nostram restitutionem* "], though *the other habits were taken away*, the wearing of square caps and surplices was continued to the clergy."[2] Archbishop Parker in 1567 required the Warden of All Souls', Oxford, to furnish him with an inventory of " the number and fashion of their vestments and tunicles, *which serve not to use at these days*,"[3] while Archbishop Whitgift in 1574 replied to Cartwright, " All the popish apparel which they used in their Mass *this Church hath refused* . . . neither do we retain the massing Levitical apparel "[4] but that apparel only which Bullinger himself alloweth of " (*ibid.*, 550). Archbishop Grindal in his visitation in 1571 enjoins the churchwardens to see that " all vestments, albs, tunicles, stoles . . . be utterly defaced and destroyed," and in the same year informs Zanchius that in " *every* sacred administration the ecclesiastical disciple " requires the minister to wear a surplice, and he maintains that this had been the unaltered law of the Church since the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1559.[5] Such language can only be explained on the grounds either that the Proviso did not refer to *the ritual* " use " of the 1549 vestments, or that " other order " in accordance with it had been taken by the Royal visitors in July, 1559. It is also clear,

[1] *Works*, V., 414.
[2] *Zurich Letters*, I., 142. appen. p. 84.
[3] *Corresp.*, 296.
[4] *Works*, III., 59.
[5] *Remains*, 134 and 339.

when he goes on to assert that every bishop had obeyed the prescribed rules" regarding ministerial dress (*ibid.*), that he did not regard the printed 1559 ornaments rubric as legal, *since none of the Elizabethan bishops ever conformed to its requirements of a surplice or alb with a cope or vestment and a pastoral staff* for *all* their ministrations. We have also definite contemporary evidence to its illegality when Dean Sutcliffe of Exeter replied to a Puritan libel, "Why ministers may not refuse to wear a surplice *as* a bishop to use a pastoral staff," "Because the one is commanded by law, *the other is not.*[1] In fact we have abundant evidence that, as Dr. Frere admits, by the time the Royal Visitation of 1559 was over "the ornaments in most churches were neither in use nor even retained," and that "every bishop on the bench went directly in face of the Ornaments Rubric of Elizabeth"[2] There is no evidence at all that any of the bishops ever recognised this rubric as legal or made any attempt to enforce it. We have also the direct testimony that Bishop Guest, who from his Lutheran sympathies might have been supposed to favour the 1549 special vestments, distinctly condemned them. "As a surplice," he told Cecil, "is sufficient in baptising, reading, preaching and praying, it is enough also for celebrating the Communion, for if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us that higher and better things be given by it than be given by the other service; which we must not believe."[3]

Bishops Enforce Surplice Only

On the other hand, we have direct evidence, not only of the enforcement of the requirement of the 1552 rubric for a surplice at the Communion, but of the actual deprivation of ministers for refusing to conform to

[1] *Answer to a Certain Libel* 1592, p. 170.
[2] *Princ. of Relig. Cerem.*, 124-5 and Q. 1995, Royal Comm., 1906
[3] Strype, *Annals*, I., Appen. XIV., 38-41.

this " order of the church service,[1] which according to the 1549 rubric was in itself *illegal*, and therefore could have been successfully withstood. Moreover the bishops actually quote the *exact words* of the *first* of the two rubrics of the revised 1552 Book which had been illegally omitted from the 1559 printed Books. For, in referring to the place for Common Prayer, Archbishop Grindal inquires in 1576, not whether it was said, " in the accustomed place of the Church " (the words of the 1559 printed substitute rubric), but " Whether your minister so turn himself and stand in such place of your church or chancel as the people may best hear the same ? ", *the very words* of the 1552 rubric. And in inquiring whether the parish churches have " *all* things necessary and requisite for the Common Prayer and *administration of the Sacraments*," he merely mentions " a decent large surplice with sleeves."[2]

If, as is alleged, these two rubrics printed in the 1559 book were in accordance with the legal requirements of the Proviso, it is well nigh inconceivable that all the bishops would have repudiated their authority and deliberately enforced a vestiarian use contrary to the express provisions of one of them. What is even more surprising on this assumption is the fact that *no single instance has been discovered of any of the Marian clergy* who retained their livings, obeying the requirement of this 1559 rubric by wearing the old mass vestments which it permitted, and which they would never willingly have given up. If, as is asserted, " the Act and rubric alike ordered a return to the use of the ornaments of the Church and Minister of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI."[3] it is inconceivable that none of the Marian clergy should have carried out its provisions ; and yet the " Five Bishops " were forced to admit in 1908 that " from the early years of Eliza-

[1] Taylor's *Annals of St. Mary Ouvery*, 126-7.
[2] *Remains*, 157-8.
[3] *Ornament of the Ch.* &c. 66.

beth no clergyman appears to have introduced the use of either cope or chasuble into a parish church until within the last fifty years."[1] Furthermore, when we remember the hatred of the Puritans for the "habits" as "rags of Antichrist," a dislike which was shared with many of the bishops, who openly expressed their desire to dispense with the surplice, it is more than strange that with the wholesale destruction of chasubles, albs and copes as "monuments of superstition," there should have been no single attempt to destroy the rochets and surplices which, as Dr. Frere states, many regarded as also "defiled by idolatry and superstition." Such an exception can only have been due to the knowledge which was freely asserted by the ecclesiastical authorities, that these "ornaments" were required by the Act of Uniformity while the rest had been abrogated.

An Extreme Puritan Construction

It has been urged that some of the later Puritans exploited the requirements of the printed rubric of 1559 to excuse their refusal to wear the surplice; but even though one here and there may have sincerely employed a captious cavil of this sort, we have clear evidence that they realised the inconsistency of this rubric with the requirements of the Act of Uniformity. Robert Beale, controverting Whitgift in 1584, declares that as there never has been a Book which conformed to Elizabeth's Act with only three alterations, and "forasmuch as this book which we have, hath more additions, it is another book and diverse from that which the law requireth and confirmed,"[2] "and so hitherto there hath been no book published according to law at all"; while the Puritan leaders in 1604 asserted that since the Prayer Book did not agree with the Elizabethan

[1] *Ornament of the Ch.* &c. 89.
[2] Strype, *Whitgift* Bk. III., 144, 1718.

Act the bishops "cannot proceed against any for the neglect of their books by virtue of the Statute."[1]

But we have direct evidence that prominent Churchmen even a generation later did not recognise any such inconsistency between the Act and the rubric, but interpreted the latter[2] *not* as ordering the chasuble for the *Communion*, but the surplice for that and for all other public ministrations. For one of the charges made against Bishop Wren, when he was impeached by the House of Commons in 1641, was that as bishop of Norwich he had "alienated the people from hearing sermons" by ordering all ministers to *preach* in their *surplices* and hoods. His defence for enjoining the use of the surplice was not only that it tended to decency and uniformity of practice, but that it conformed "to the law itself." In proof of this he appealed to this illegally printed Elizabethan rubric, and adds, "But that the priest was in those times (*i.e.*, in the second year of Edward VI.) to wear a surplice appears by the Liturgy of that year. Will they then say that they which be permitted to administer either the Word or the *Sacraments* . . . in the ministry of the Word, *i.e.*, in preaching are not in execution of part "of their ministration?" For if they be, *then are they to wear the surplice* by the rule above alleged."[3]

[1] Quoted Usher, *Reconstruction of Eng. Ch.* II., 363.

[2] We have abundant evidence that this rubric was regarded as explained by the requirements of the Royal Injunctions and Advertisements.

[3] *Parentalia*, 91-3.

(*b*) *The Advertisements of* 1566

While it is freely admitted that the printed Ornaments Rubric in the 1559 Book was entirely disregarded, it is sought in some measure to explain this universal neglect by the issue in March, 1566, by Archbishop Parker of the Royal Advertisements in virtue of a mandatory letter received from the Queen.[1] The Privy Council in the Purchas and Ridsdale Judgments decided that these "Advertisements" were a taking of "Other Order" in accordance with the Proviso of the Act of Uniformity. But even if, as seems more probable, they constituted instead the "further orders"[2] which the Queen was empowered "to ordain and publish" concerning "rites and ceremonies" by the concluding section of the Proviso, there is little doubt of their full authority. Only two months after their issue Grindal wrote to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's requiring them to enforce on all the clergy of the deanery "upon pain of deprivation, to prepare forthwith and to wear such habit and apparel as is ordained *by the Queen's majesty's authority* expressed in the treatise entitled the "Advertisements."[3] This testimony is the more valuable owing to Grindal's known concern for legality. He questioned the *vigorem legis* of the Canons of 1571 as lacking formal royal authorisation.[4] Archbishop

[1] *Cf. Parker's Corresp.*, 223-6 and 273-4.

[2] Whitgift would seem to support this view when he says "I suppose in matters of Ornaments of the Church and the Ministers thereof, the Queen's Majesty together with the Archbishop or the Commissioners in causes ecclesiastical have authority by the Act of Parliament to alter and appoint such rites and ceremonies as shall from time to time be thought to them most convenient" (*Works* III, 5. 10).

[3] *State Papers Domestic*, XXXIX., No. 76.

[4] *Remains*, 327.

Parker also in his Visitation Articles of 1569 inquired "Whether the holy Sacraments be ministered reverently in such manner as by the laws of the realm and by the Queen's majesties injunctions and by the Advertisements set forth by public authority is appointed and prescribed?"[1] Again in 1573 he told Cecil "that order hath been taken this seven years by Commissioners *according to the statute* that fonts should not be removed,"[2] which was one of the Injunctions contained in the "Advertisements." There is also frequent reference in later years to the authoritative character of these Orders. They are cited as binding in the Canons of 1571 and 1604 and numerous ecclesiastical authorities require obedience to them. In 1584 Richard Cosin, the Vicar-General, refers to them as "Her Majesty's Injunctions and Advertisements" and asks incredulously if the bishops would have dared to have issued them in "the Queen's name and authority" otherwise: while Bishop Wren in 1641 reported to Parliament that they were "authorised by law I. Eliz. cap 2 penult."[3]

The ministerial dress required by the "Advertisements" conformed to the requirement of the 1552 rubric, with the sole exception of the cope, which was ordered to be worn not only by the celebrant, but by "the epistoler and gospeller agreeably." The cope had been generally destroyed with the other "ornaments of superstition," although in a few of the more important churches it had been suffered to remain, no tnecessarily for ritual use,[4] but in order often that it might be converted into a decent carpet or covering for the

[1] Cardwell *D.A.*, I., 355.
[2] *Corresp.*, 450.
[3] *Parentalia*, p. 75.
[4] There is evidence that in some places at this time copes must have been used in public worship or we should not have the request, in a largely signed list of grievances, drawn up in the Lower House of Convocation in 1562, that the "use *of copes* and surplices be taken away" (Strype *Annals* I, 318).

Communion Table. This order however for triple cope wearing at the Communion contravened both the rubrics of 1549 and 1552 and as far as we can judge never became general and was frequently disregarded although it was again enjoined by Canon XXIV. of 1604 for the "principal feast days."

In spite of the foregoing evidence it has been denied that the Advertisements possessed the Royal authority, and it is claimed they merely rested on the personal official action of the Archbishop.[1] It should not be forgotten that a similar and contemporary assertion of want of royal authority was pretended by some of the extreme Puritans who strongly objected to the requirements for ministerial dress which the Advertisements enforced with increased stringency. Bishop Cox writing to Gualter in 1571, declares that the statements, "which are whispered in your ears," are "false and injurious to the Queen and the ministers of the Word," viz., that some make an improper use of the name of the queen"—that ministers refusing "to subscribe to the injunctions of *certain individuals* (an obvious reference to the Advertisements) "are to be turned out of their Churches." "Just as if," he adds indignantly, "there were any persons in England who would dare to frame laws by their private authority and propound them for the obedience of their brethren." He then goes on to justify the use of the surplice as not taken from "the pope's kitchen" but as "used in the Church of Christ long before the introduction of popery"; and he significantly concludes "these things are proposed by us *as having been sanctioned by the laws.*"[2]

The Theory of a "Minimum Use"

It is however asserted that as it was practically impossible to enforce the full requirements of the Elizabethan "ornaments Rubric," Parker issued these

[1] See Frere *Hist of Eng Church*, 118.
[2] *Zurich Letters*, I., 235-6.

regulations, with the approval, but without the express authority of the Queen, in order to enforce a *minimum* standard of ministerial dress to which all clergy should be compelled to conform. "Already," writes Dr. Frere of 1563, "the conflict was concerned not with chasubles and copes ordered by the book, but with the bare *minimum* of ornaments."[1] Mr. James Parker, referring to the "Advertisements," says "their object seems . . . to have been . . . to enforce *some* discipline, trusting to time and circumstance to enforce the full discipline laid down in the Prayer Book."[2] Again Mr. Vernon Staley, in referring to the Ornaments Rubric of 1662, states "It takes no account of any intermediate legislation enforcing *a minimum* of liturgical vesture in face of prevailing gross neglect."[3]

It is extraordinary that a theory which is devoid of all confirmatory contemporary evidence can be so easily advanced and accepted by historical students as even *possible*. It is impossible to doubt that the whole aim in ecclesiastical legislation at that time, and certainly for over a century afterwards, was to enforce *uniformity* in worship and ceremony, and not diversity or compromise. There is not a hint anywhere that the Church leaders ever *attempted* to enforce this supposed "full discipline" of albs, tunicles and chasubles, or that they regarded it as "laid down in the Prayer-Book." At least we should expect a few cases of unsuccessful endeavours by the bishops to enforce the law and certainly *some of setting the example of obedience to it themselves*. Moreover we are asked to believe in a *minimum* standard of vesture which actually *contradicts* the supposed *maximum*, as regards the Communion Service! Since by the rubric of the 1549 Prayer Book, albs and tunicles were ordered, even in cathedral churches and *the surplice was not allowed at*

[1] *u.s.*, p. 95 and 109.
[2] *Hist of Revisions*, 50.
[3] *Prayer Bk. Dict.* 515.

all. In order to meet this serious difficulty the advocates of this incredible "minimum" theory, actually suggest that it was customary to put on the special eucharistic vestments "*over the surplice*"[1] It would be interesting to know how a tight-fitting sleeved "alb" could be put on over a "comely surplice" with loose wide sleeves!"

Further if this view be correct we should certainly expect to find the issue of this "minimum" standard hailed as a real relief and concession by the Puritans, whereas instead they regarded the order concerning the cope as an additional ritual burden and grievance. Humphrey and Sampson told Bullinger in July, 1566, "that the cope which was abrogated by law in King Edward's time is now restored by a public decree,[2] showing that they regarded it as an additional imposition and not in any sense as a compromise of the existing legally required ornaments for ministerial use. In the same month also, Bishop Coverdale joins Humphrey and Sampson in a letter to Beza, in which they complain that "our affairs are not altered for the better but alas are sadly deteriorated . . . in the sacred ministry the white surplice and *cope* are retained."[3] But above all the main aim which the Queen had in issuing these Advertisements was, as she told Parker, to stop the existing "sundry varieties and novelties" so that "the whole realm should be brought to *one manner of uniformity*."[4]

We have sufficient evidence of the high handed arbitrary way in which Elizabeth punished the least disobedience to her will, to make it impossible to believe that she would have been a party to the deliberate evasion of the existing law concerning vestments by the permission a "minimum" ritual use. Strype tells us that the early Elizabethan bishops "Cox,

[1] *Cf.* Eeles, *Prayer Bk. Dict.*, 557 n. I. (1924).
[2] *Zurich Letters*, I., 94.
[3] *Zurich Letters*, II., 71 Appen.
[4] *Corres.* 224-6.

Grindal Horn, Sandys, Jewel, Parkhurst. Bentham. . . . laboured all they could against receiving into the Church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside. But they could not obtain it from the Queen and Parliament; and the habits were enacted"[1]; while Bishop Jewel in 1566 confirms this in his reference to the contest about the surplice, when he declares that "the matter still disturbs weak minds" and although "he wished that even the slightest vestige of popery might be removed from our churches . . . the Queen is unable to bear the least *alteration in matters of religion.*"[2] We get good confirmation of this statement of Jewel's from the Queen's letter to Parker in 1571 urging him to reform any abuses of the laws for religious uniformity, since Elizabeth states that she is "minded . . . that none should be suffered to decline either on the left or on the right hand from the direct line limited by authority of our *said laws and injunctions.*"[3] If therefore the alb or chasuble had been legal vestments there can be no doubt that Elizabeth would have insisted on their use by the clergy. She was as jealous as her father of her ecclesiastical prerogative and was not inclined to suffer any individual infringements of the national policy of the "supreme Governor of the Church." A deliberate contradiction of this theory, that Parker wished in issuing the Advertisements to enforce a "minimum" standard of ministerial dress, is also provided by Canon XIV. of 1604 which enjoins "all ministers" to "observe the orders, rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer" "without either *diminishing* or adding anything in the matter of *form* thereof." It is obvious that the ecclesiastical authorities were solely concerned to enforce uniformity

[1] *Annals*, I., 177, (1725).
[2] *Zurich Letters*, I., 149.
[3] *Corresp.*, 386.

of practice and had no conception of authorising a mere "minimum" use.

The Restoration and the Revision of the Rubric

Although the subsequent history of the Ornaments Rubric lies outside the Elizabethan period it has such a direct relation to the ritual usage of that time, that it is practically impossible to omit all reference to it. At the revision of the Prayer Book in 1661, it was again discussed on the complaint of the Puritans that the Elizabethan printed rubric "seemeth to bring back the cope, alb, etc., and other vestments forbidden by the Common Prayer Book and 6 Edward VIth,"[1] and should therefore "be wholly left out."

At this time the vestments of the 1549 Book had been completely destroyed and discarded for quite a century, and the ecclesiastical authorities had been for years unsuccessfully struggling to enforce the use of the surplice on the hostile Puritan clergy in accordance, as they believed, with the requirements of the Prayer Book, Royal Injunctions, Advertisements, and Canons. Smarting from their sufferings in the Civil Wars, the Anglican party were in an unyielding spirit and so at first refused to consider this Puritan objection, evidently interpreting it as a further attempt to evade the use of the surplice. They merely referred them therefore to their answer to the Puritan objection to ceremonies, *which had dealt with the surplice only* as a ministerial dress,[2] and answered "For the reasons given in our Answer to the eighteenth general, whither you refer us, we think fit that the rubric continue as it is." Their avowed aim was to maintain and enforce what had been the law and custom of the Church for the past century, and as there was at that time almost universal ignorance of the actual requirements of the 1549 Book, the bishops were under the

[1] Cardwell, *Hist of Conferences*, 314.
[2] Cardwell, *u.s.*, 345, 350-1.

impression that its rubrics required the surplice only for all ministrations.[1] Thus also Bishop Sparrow declared that the ornaments prescribed in 1549 were "a surplice in the ordinary ministration and a cope in the time of ministration of the Holy Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches."[2] In fact the learned Church historian, Joseph Bingham, as late as 1706, quotes confidently the "Certain Notes" at the close of that Book, which require the surplice, as the only rubric concerning ministerial vesture.[3] Bingham was replying to Richard Baxter's complaints that "we do not know what was in use," but are "told that the albe and many other ornaments were then in use, which are since put down." In order to show that Baxter's exceptions are founded on mere "ignorance and mistake," Bingham quotes the rubric in "Certain Notes" requiring the surplice and hood for the minister, and also the similar requirement in Canon 58 of 1603 and he asks "where now is the contradiction between this Canon and the rubrics? They all speak of surplices and hoods, but *of no other vestment belonging to private ministers*."[4] Bingham had either overlooked or read carelessly the rubric at the commencement of the 1549 Communion Service.

The "Ornaments Rubric" Altered

The Restoration bishops soon discovered, however, that there was reason in the contention of the Puritans, since the printed Elizabethan rubric diverged materially from the wording of the Proviso of the Act to which it distinctly referred. They accordingly altered it to agree almost verbatim with the Statute, Sancroft inserting an explanatory note at the end of the amended rubric. "These are the words of the Act itself." This note was however rendered superfluous since Convocation at the same time accepted and incorporated the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity as the first item

[1] See the opinion on this point stated by Bishop Wren above.
[2] *Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer*, 388.
[3] *Cf. Works* VIII., 2. 3.
[4] *Works*, VII., 113.

in the revised Book, so that the present rubric is a mere note of reference to that Act, *which is the ultimate authority for its interpretation.* Since "other order" had long since been taken according to the terms of the Proviso, the Revisers naturally omitted the concluding sentence, while they deliberately changed the words "at the time of the Communion and at all other times in his ministration," which were in the Elizabethan rubric, to read "at all times of their ministration," thus signifying that there was to be no distinctive dress for the Communion. It is obvious that if by inserting the words of the Proviso as an Ornaments Rubric, the Restoration revisers had intended to enforce the use of the 1549 vestments for Holy Communion there was nothing at that time which prevented them seeing that this law was generally obeyed. Puritanism was a defeated and discredited force and most unpopular, so it cannot even be urged that the bishops in 1662 *refrained from obeying the rubric themselves* and from enforcing compliance with it on the clergy, because of the formidable opposition of the Puritan clergy. They had an absolutely free hand, and the iniquitous penal laws of the Clarendon Code showed the relentless way in which Nonconformists were dealt with. If, as advocates of the central Anglican *via media* position, "the Elizabethan divines," as it is alleged "had restored the use of the eucharistic vestments"[1] as a witness in ritual usage to their "modified Edwardine religion," and "delicately balanced compromise" which they had established, then we should certainly expect their successors, whose ecclesiastical outlook was admittedly "higher," to be eager to enforce their universal adoption of these vestments.

Restoration Bishops Enforce Surplice Only

On the other hand the fact that all the Restoration bishops in their Visitation Articles required the use of

[1] Gibson, *u.s.*, I., 40.

the *surplice only at all times of ministration* is surely complete proof that this was their interpretation of the requirement of the rubric which they had amended in answer to the Puritan complaint, and that they had no knowledge that any other vestments had ever been regarded as legal. The question asked immediately afterwards in 1662 by Bishop Cosin, one of the chief revisers, does not leave this point open to doubt. "Have you a large and decent surplice for the minister to wear at all times of his public ministration in the Church?"[1]

The New Interpretation

It was not until the following century that some liturgical writers, mostly amongst the Non-jurors, discovered that the *prima facie* interpretation of the wording of the 1662 rubric seemed, when carelessly read, to disagree with this evident intention of the Restoration divines. Although there is no doubt that in 1661 the words "be in use" were interpreted to mean "ritual use," yet the only "ornaments of the minister" ordered by "the Authority of Parliament in the Second year of Edward VIth's reign" *then* "in use" were the surplice and rochet, and therefore no others could then be "retained." For over a century chasubles, albs and tunicles had been carefully sought for and destroyed by lawful authority as "monuments of superstition," it was therefore impossible to "retain" them for ministerial use in 1662. If it was intended by this new rubric not only to abrogate the statutory rubric of 1552, but also to alter the requirements of the Injunctions Advertisements and Canons, as regards the vesture for the Communion Service, the wording should have been "re-introduced" and not "retained"! For we must remember that such an interpretation would have amounted to the formulation of a new vestiarian law, which *contradicted* the usage of the past century. It

[1] *Second Report Ritual Com.*, 601.

would have in fact repealed the requirement of Canon XXIV. as regards ministerial dress for the Communion. If this had been the intention of the Revisers it is inconceivable that they should still have enforced and referred to the Canons as binding in the *very particular* in which this new rubric had repealed them! For Henchman, Bishop of Salisbury, asks in 1662 "Doth your minister . . . administering *the Sacraments* . . . wear the surplice *according to the canons?*"[1]

Moreover we have distinct evidence that there was no thought after 1662 of accommodating scrupulous consciences by compromising on a "minimum" use of Prayer Book requirements. As Archbishop Sancroft inquires in his Visitation Articles of 1682 "Doth your parson publicly administer the Holy Sacraments of Baptism and *the Eucharist* . . . in such manner and form, as is directed by the Book of Common Prayer, lately established, and Act of Uniformity therewith published, without addition, *diminutions* or alteration? And doth he in those ministrations wear the surplice, with a Hood or Tippet befitting his degree?"[2] However ignorant the Revisers in 1662 may have been of the precise vestiarian requirements of the 1549 Prayer Book, they at least knew that the use of the surplice was ordered by it. They were therefore *literally* correct in the wording of their revised Ornaments' rubric! For read in the light of existing practice its meaning becomes quite plain. As against the Puritan clamour of the past century for the abrogation of the surplice, they state clearly that "such ornaments . . . of the Ministers" (now actually in use), i.e., the surplice and rochet, "as were in this Church of England by authority of Parliament" in 1549 "shall be *retained* and be in use" still. That is, the Puritans must conform to the use of the surplice. In face of these known facts it is amazing that a modern writer on this subject

[1] *Second Report Rit. Com.* Appen. 611.
[2] *Second Report Rit. Com.* Appen. 654.

can sum up the case with the statement " We can only conclude that at the very least the intention of those who placed the rubric in its present form in the Prayer Book was that if anyone wished to revive the vestments the rubric could be used as their authority, while the long disuse of them and the absence of explicit mention could be held to cover their continued disuse."[1]

On the other hand it would be safe to affirm that no one then, least of all the Revisers of 1662, ever thought of restoring the special Eucharistic vestments of the 1549 Book, or that the new rubric then inserted would be ultimately exploited to give a colour of authority for their re-introduction. Moreover at the proposed revision of the Prayer Book in 1689 there was evidently no thought of the legality of the 1549 eucharistic vestments, the only suggestion being that use of the surplice might be dispensed with by the bishop in case of any conscientious scruple against it by the Minister.[2] It seems impossible to imagine that if the special vestments for the Holy Communion had really been ordered by the enactment of the revised Prayer Book of 1662 all the Church authorities should have deliberately ignored this requirement and enforced a use for ministerial dress inconsistent with it. In fact as a recent writer well says of this theory " It cannot be seriously contended that the Sovereign, the Episcopate, and the clergy have for three hundred years assisted in a flagrant breach of the law."[3]

[1] Eeles *P.B. Dict'y.*, 568, 1924.
[2] Cardwell *Conferences*, 431.
[3] Cornish *Eng. Ch. in the XIXth Century*, II. 153.

(c) "*Ornaments of the Church.*"

Omission to Prescribe Means Prohibition to Use

So far we have considered the evidence for the ritual use of the Elizabethan Settlement. Mainly as regards the "Ornaments of the minister," let us now turn our attention to the "ornaments of the Church," and try to discover if there are any traces during this period of the employment of any ornaments not specifically required or implied by the rites and ceremonies enjoined in the 1552 Prayer Book. which the Act of 1559 revived. Such evidence would go far to substantiate the assertion that "other order" was never taken according to the terms of the Proviso and that the ornaments of the 1549 Book were still "to be retained" and be in ritual use. But even so, in considering what ornaments of that Book would be legally permissible, we have to bear in mind, as the "Five Bishops" clearly state, that the general method which the Reformers adopted of "abolishing a ceremony and ornament previously used, appears to have been by the omission of any reference to them in the prayers and rubrics."[1] It is obvious that with the Reformers, omission to prescribe meant prohibition to use, since in the preface "Of Ceremonies," those that are not "retained" are thereby described as "put-away" and "abolished," even though not specifically named. This policy was made even more clear by the statement in the first three Prayer Books. "Furthermore by this Order, the Curates shall need no other books for their public service, but this book and the Bible."[2] Although this

[1] *Ornaments of the Ch.* &c., 60.
[2] *Concerning the Service of the Church*

clause was omitted in 1662, the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity which was then incorporated as the first item of the Prayer Book, distinctly stated that any Minister whatsoever "using any *other* rite, ceremony, order or form than *is mentioned* and set forth in the said Book," on a third offence, should suffer deprivation and life imprisonment. The ceremonies of chrism and oil in the services of Baptism and the Visitation of the Sick and the placing of the chrisom or white vestment on the newly baptized, were all omitted in the Prayer Book, consequently the "ornaments" necessary for them could not "be retained" or be in ritual use. The same applied to the pyx for conveying the reserved sacrament to the sick, since reservation was distinctly forbidden.
by the sixth rubric after the Communion Service but by Article XXVIII. Altars had been removed by a special order even before the issue of the 1552 Book, and the rubrics of the Elizabethan Book *never once mention them.* It was natural therefore that the Royal Injunctions of 1559 ordered that "the holy table in every church be set in the place where the altar stood." This Order had followed from an earnest petition by Parker and the chief Reformed divines to Queen Elizabeth against the retention of altars or images in the churches. In this they point out that an altar presupposes a sacrifice, but that in the Holy Supper "Christ is not to be sacrificed, but His Body and Blood spiritually to be eaten and drunken." They declare that as it was the Queen's "principal purpose, utterly to abolish all the errors and abuses used about the Lord's Supper, especially to root out the popish Mass and all superstitious opinions concerning the same," the altar will have a contrary effect as it will enable the Mass Priests "to make the Communion as like a Mass as they can."[1]

It is therefore clear that the wording of the Proviso, even if it be construed to refer to ritual use, cannot mean

[1] Strype *Annals*, I., 161.

"*all* ornaments of the Church" allowed by the 1549 Book but only "*Such* ornaments, as are required, or implied as necessary, by the services and ceremonies prescribed in the 1559 Book, and these silently but definitely ruled out altars and images as well as chrismatory, pyx and chrisom." Accordingly, as we have seen, the Royal Visitors in 1559, acting with full powers as Commissioners according to the terms of the Proviso, ordered the destruction of these very ornaments as "monuments of superstition." Thus Bishop Tunstal was deprived in September, 1559, after objecting to the Royal Visitors pulling down altars in his diocese,[1] while Archbishop Parker asks in his Visitation Articles in 1569 "whether your aulters be taken down according to the commandment in that behalf given?"[2] Again in 1576 Grindal in his Visitation Articles for the Province of Canterbury inquires "whether in your churches all altars be utterly taken down and clean removed even to the foundation?"[3] We have abundant evidence in the early part of this reign from parish registers of the sums paid for taking down the altar and erecting a movable Communion Table in its place; proving that this order was generally complied with. At Eltham in Kent sums are paid at the same time "for a bibell" and "for putting down the altar."[4]

Bishop Jewel, one of the Visitors, speaks of the "Crosses of silver and tin which we have everywhere broken in pieces."[5] While Bishop Cox, another visitor, declares in 1560 "no crucifix is to-day to be

[1] *Machyn's Diary*, 214.
[2] Cardwell *D.A.*, I., 356.
[3] *Remains*, 158.
[4] *Accts* 1559-1560, *Archæologia*, XXXIV., 56.
There is a striking record of an exact reversal of this policy in a letter written by Jewel to Bullinger describing the Northern Rebellion 1569 during which "Without delay altars are erected in their camp, the holy bibles are committed to the flames." *Zurich Letters*, I., 228.
[5] *Zurich Letters*, I.,Appen. 25.

seen in the churches."[1] This is confirmed by Bishop Pilkington who says in 1560 " our poor papists weep to see our churches so bare, saying they be like barns, there is nothing in them to make curtesy unto, neither saints, not yet their old little god."[2] Sandys affirms that all this destruction of images was carried out by " public authority."[3] He is probably referring to the 23rd of the Royal Injunctions of 1559 which directs the curates "To take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all shrines, coverings of shrines, all candlesticks, pictures, paintings and all monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition.[4] This destruction of images was evidently also of a permanent character since in 1572 Whitgift told Cartwright " the papists have the cross in their churches, so have not we."[5] and James I. informed the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference that " the material crosses, which in the times of popery were made for all men to fall down before them, to worship them . . . are demolished as you desire."[6]

The Removal of Crosses

This entire removal of the cross or crucifix threatened however for a time to jeopardise the Elizabethan Reformation owing to the vacillating policy pursued by the Queen on the question. There is little doubt that her action was dictated by political considerations in the hope of conciliating the strong papal sympathies of Spain and thus of securing her as an ally against the rival claims of Mary, Queen of Scots, whose husband became King of France in 1560. Not only did Elizabeth in October, 1559, introduce a crucifix and lighted candles for ritual use, in her private chapel, but she

[1] *Zurich Letters*, II., Appen. 25.
[2] *Works*, 129.
[3] *Zurich Letters*, I., 74.
[4] Cardwell *D. A.*, I., 221.
[5] *Works*, III., 127.
[6] Cardwell *Conferences*, 200.

seemed inclined to require the restoration of the cross in all the churches. The bishops, however, put up a strong opposition, declaring in their petition to the Queen against images, that they cannot consent without offence to God and their consciences, to erect crosses in the churches. They beseech Elizabeth "most humbly not to strain us any further," since "they are persuaded both in learning and conscience" that images "tend to the confirmation of error, superstition and idolatry and to the ruin of souls."[1] The Queen, however, refused to give way as far as her own Chapel was concerned, and Jewel feared that the bishops would have to resign or submit.[2] A disputation on the question of tolerating the crucifixes, provided no veneration were paid to them, was held in February, 1560, Sandys declares that on account of his vehemence, "he was very near being deposed . . . but God . . . gave them tranquillity," and delivered the Church of England from stumbling blocks of this kind."[3] Elizabeth, herself, continued to vacillate; the "crucifix and candlesticks" in her chapel being "broken in pieces" in 1562,[4] but they were restored again a year later, and they remained till 1567 when "a certain youth under the influence of great zeal for God," threw them down and broke them in pieces, and they were not again restored.[5]

The Church leaders felt it necessary to excuse Elizabeth's conduct on this question, which had given great offence, and Calfhill told Martial that the Queen did not think it expedient for her subjects to copy what she thought she could have without offence, since she "was too well instructed to fall into popish error and idolatry".[6] Certainly Elizabeth at times seemed

[1] *Parker's Corresp*, 80 and 94.
[2] *Zurich Letters*, I., 68.
[3] *Zurich Letters*, I., 74.
[4] *Zurich Letters*, I., 122.
[5] Gorham *Reformation Gleanings*, 436.
[6] *Answer to Martial*, p. 7.

peculiarly careful to avoid this latter danger, since on one occasion she sternly rebuked Dean Sampson for presenting her with an illuminated Prayer Book portraying the stories and sufferings of saints and martyrs, telling him it tended to idolatry and was contrary to the recent Proclamation against images and pictures.[1]

We must not forget that for a good part of Elizabeth's reign there was evidently a considerable number of people who still secretly favoured the "old" religion, and also that many of the old Marian clergy, who retained their cures, were at heart papists. Dodd admits that many cordially affected to the Church of Rome outwardly conformed, and "it was believed that the greatest part complied against their consciences."[2] while Lingard also declares that many of the "lower orders of the clergy thought proper to conform . . . some under the persuasion that the present would soon be followed by another religious revolution"[3] There seems little doubt that not only amongst the clergy were there a good many "vicars of Bray," but that a good percentage of the people were so far indifferent that they were ready to comply with the religious changes ordered by public authority. A competent witness declared in 1578 that men followed "their good vicar, which before said Masse, and now preacheth the contrary for advantage and saith the communion."[4]

The official inquiries of the bishops confirm these assertions. Grindal in his Visitation Articles in 1576, inquires not only if there are any who still pray "upon beads or any superstitious popish Primer, or hear mass, but also "whether any of your parsons, vicars or curates be favourers of the Romish power . . . preachers of corrupt popish doctrine . . . or set forth and extol vain and superstitious religion?"[5] It is not

[1] *cf.* Strype's *Annals*, I., 273.
[2] *Church Hist.*, II. 7.
[3] *Hist of Eng.*, VI., 10.
[4] Gregory Martin *Treatise of Schism* (1578).
[5] *Remains*, 163.

therefore in the least surprising that a few churches here and there can be discovered where the royal or episcopal orders concerning the destruction, or conversion for the benefit of the Church, of the old ornaments allowed by the 1549 Book, had not been fully complied with. The compilers of the "Hierurgia Anglicana" cite serveral instances in this period[1] where inventories of Church goods include pixes, censors, crosses, candlesticks, copes, and other discarded ornaments, which the Royal Visitors or the Bishops, in their Visitation Inquiries, had ordered to be defaced, destroyed or sold "for the use of the Church." But these cases furnish no evidence whatever of *the ritual* employment of these illegal ornaments. They tell us rather that they were still retained either to obtain a profitable occasion for their sale or conversion, or that they were secretly treasured in the hope that a further turn of the ecclesiastical wheel might once again enable them to be used openly in Divine service. Even when these ornaments were at length swept from all the churches, they were apparently hoarded privately with the same forlorn hope, since as late as 1628, Archbishop Laud in his Visitation Articles, asks "Whether there be in your parish any who are known or suspected to conceal or keep hid *in their houses* any Mass books, Brevaries or other books of Popery or superstition, or any chalices, copes or other ornaments of superstition uncancelled . . . which is to be conjectured they *keep for a day* as they call it."[2]

We may therefore fairly claim to have proved that as regards the ornaments of the Church and the ministers, there is no evidence at all of a "complete change" in the ritual usage of the Elizabethan period compared with that of the Edwardine Prayer Book of 1552. In fact Archbishop Grindal was strictly accurate when he informed Zanchius in 1571 that Elizabeth had "re-

[1] *cf.* I., 125 and 177.
[2] *Works*, V., 414.

stored all things to that standard of the administration of the Word of God and the sacraments and the whole of Religion, which had been drawn up and established in the reign of Edward VI."[1]

[1] *Remains*, 339.

THE CAROLINE DIVINES

Chapter VI.

THE SCRIPTURES AND THE RULE OF FAITH.

"When Elizabeth came to the throne, although the 1552 Prayer Book was replaced, it was with alterations of such far reaching significance that nothing vital to Catholic tradition could be said to be authoritatively abandoned."[1] This definitely dogmatic statement by a modern writer implies that such important changes were made at the Revision of the Prayer Book in 1559 that Anglican religion then recovered a Catholicity which had been sacrificed by the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. It is on a par with similar assumptions by such authorities as Bishops Frere, Gibson, and Dr. Kidd. We have already carefully examined such statements, and found that they are entirely devoid of any historical foundation, since the three small changes made in 1559 in no way affected the doctrinal character of the English Church and certainly cannot be interpreted as in any way affecting its catholicity.

The Anglican View of Authortiy

A further contention would however, if correct, seriously challenge Anglican agreement with "Catholic tradition." For the same writer tells us that there are "Three views of the Church held by four principal sections of Christians. There is first the Papal view held by those of the Roman obedience, according to which ultimately all authority rests with the papacy. There is secondly the old Protestant view, according to which the ultimate authority is Scripture. There is

[1] Eeles *Prayer Book Revision*, 108.

thirdly the view held by Anglicans in the West and by the Orthodox in the East that the ultimate authority is the Church herself, the whole body of Christ speaking through a General Council ratified by subsequent general acceptance" (p. 17). Now this contention that the "Anglican view" places the ultimate authority of the Church as superior to that of Scripture, is not only subversive of primitive Catholic tradition, but it absolutely contradicts the whole Reformation position and appeal, in which there was absolute unanimity between the Anglican and foreign Reformers. The Roman Church had decreed in the Council of Trent that "the truth is contained in the written books and in the unwritten traditions which having been received by the Apostles were handed down even to us" and it declared that the Council "receives and venerates with an equal feeling of piety and reverence all the books of the Old and New Testaments as well as the traditions relating both to faith and morals, dictated either orally by Christ or by the Holy Spirit and preserved in continuous succession in the Catholic Church.[1] Cardinal Bellarmine aptly summarised the distinction between the Romish and Reformed views on the subject when he said "The controversy between us and heretics consists in this, that we assert that all necessary doctrine concerning faith and morals is not necessarily contained in Scripture and consequently beside the Written Word is needed an unwritten one, whereas they teach that in the Scriptures all such necessary doctrine is contained and consequently there is no need of an unwritten word."[2]

Now if our Anglican Confession of Faith emphasises one point more than another, it is that the Scriptures are to be regarded as the sole rule of Faith and as the final standard of appeal and authority. The ordinances of General Councils are, it affirms, "of no strength or authority" unless they are in accordance with the

[1] *Sess.* IV., *Canon* I., *Conc.* XIV., 746.
[2] *De Verb. Dei. lib.* IV., c. 3.

teaching of Scripture (Article XXI.), while even the Catholic Creeds are declared to be dependent on the same supreme authority for their acceptance.[1] It is well to expose thoroughly the absolute baselessness of this definite contention for it does not stand alone.

Dr. Kidd's Novel Contention.

Dr. Kidd in his Introduction to the "Thirty Nine Articles" similarly declares that in common with all the Anglican formularies the Articles make their "new appeal" "not to the authority of the Bible and the Bible only, but to that of Scripture and the undivided Church" (p. 12). In proof of this remarkable assertion Dr. Kidd appeals to the statement made in the "Ten Articles" of 1536 and "The Bishops' Book of 1537" and "The King's Book 1543, The Elizabethan Act of Supremacy and the Canons of 1571. We can at once dismiss the first three of these formularies as they only had temporary authority in Henry VIIIth reign, and were entirely superseded by the authorised Anglican Confession of Faith drawn up in 1552, which was revised in 1562. It is therefore the doctrine "set forth" in these "Thirty Nine" Articles which is the only binding standard of authority in the Anglican Church to-day. And we should remember that these Articles make no reference whatever to the previous tentative formularies of Henry VIIIth reign. We are not surprised that Dr. Kidd makes no effort to justify his contention, concerning the appeal of the Anglican formularies, by references to the teaching of the Articles, but instead relies on a statement concerning the "judgment for heresy" made in the Act of Supremacy 1559. Let us examine the force and authority of this alleged support. A clause in this Act set up a High Commission Court and empowered it to adjudge heresy only, "by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or any of them, or by any other

[1] Art VIII.

General Council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scriptures or such as hereafter shall be ordered, judged or determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament with the assent of the clergy in their Convocation."[1] It is immediately apparent that in this statement the main test of heresy is to be sought from the teaching based on "the express and plain words of the Canonical Scriptures." The judgment of the "First four General Councils" is certainly admitted, but as the dogmatic canons of these Councils only relate to the Holy Trinity it was evidently thought sufficient to appeal to them to condemn any Arian or Socinian heresy. But this appeal to the dogmatic teaching of the First four General Councils can by no stretch be construed as committing the Anglican formularies to the standard of "the undivided Church," which would necessarily include the first ten centuries up to the division of East and West. Certainly also Dr. Kidd can find no support for an Anglican standard of "the Scriptures and the undivided Church" in the permission given here to the "High Court of Parliament" to "determine heresy," since no standards other than the preceding ones are set forth for its guidance. Moreover, Dr. Kidd forgets that these tests are found not in an Anglican *formulary* but in an *Act of Parliament*, and also that this whole section of the Act was repealed with the abolition of the High Commission Court in 1641. Therefore even from 1559 to 1641 it could only be quoted as a standard which the *State* thought fit to impose on the *Church*, but since then it does not possess even this value. It cannot therefore, like the Articles, be included in the appeal of the "Anglican formularies."

The only other support which Dr. Kidd alleges for his dogmatic contention is a statement contained in some Canons passed by the Upper Houses of Convocation only, in 1571, which never received royal authorisa-

[1] Prothero *Statutes and Documents*, p. 12.

tion. One of these warns preachers never to preach anything which they wish people to hold and believe "nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti *quodque ex illa ipsa* doctrina catholici patres et veteres episcopi collegerint."[1] But even if we may regard these Canons in a subordinate sense as an Anglican formulary, this vague and indefinite standard to which they appeal, ultimately rests on "the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments" so that it certainly cannot be claimed as exalting "the teaching of the undivided Church" to be a co-ordinate authority with Holy Scripture. On the other hand we get confirmatory evidence that the Anglican standard of authority is ultimately Scripture alone, from the statutory Canons of 1604 which superseded these unauthorised Canons of 1571. For Canon LI. of that year, in a similar attempt to prevent erroneous teaching, orders every preacher to be reported to the bishop who publishes any doctrine "disagreeing with *the Word of God* or the Articles of Religion and the Book of Common Prayer."[2] It makes no mention of "General Councils or Catholic fathers and old Bishops." Since both the Prayer Book and the Articles make their final appeal to Scripture we may safely say that the Anglican Reformation in its formularies accepted what Mr. Eeles styles "the old Protestant view" as its cardinal principle—the subordination to Scripture as its final standard of faith and authority.[3]

But not only have we conclusive proof that as regards the standard of authority the Anglican Church takes no "middle position," but as we have seen, there is abund-

[1] Cardwell *Synodalia*, I., 126.

[2] Cardwell *u.s.*, I., 275.

[3] The unauthorised "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum" of Edward VIth's reign cannot be regarded in any strict sense as an Anglican "formulary" and in any case its statement that "we reverently accept the first four Councils" must be modified by the definite language of Article XXI. which declares *all* Councils fallible.

ant evidence that its whole doctrinal basis as set forth in the Elizabethan Settlement is in complete harmony with that of the foreign Reformed Churches. In spite of this evidence we are to-day constantly being told by scholars that the Anglican Church occupies a Via Media position. "The Church of England," writes Bishop Headlam, "has in the West the strength, but also the weakness of its position as a via media. It seems to many a very unreal compromise. It claims to be something different from the Protestant Churches, yet it is not Roman."[5] Even though it is impossible to substantiate such a statement as this from the Anglican formularies or from the writings of the XVIth century Reformers, it is not unimportant, if only from an historical point of view, to examine carefully if there is any foundation for it in the theological and ecclesiastical position of the prominent Caroline divines of the XVIIth century. In other words did these celebrated exponents of Anglicanism depart seriously from the principles and position of their Edwardine and Elizabethan forerunners? Did they, for instance, regard the Church of England "as something different from the Protestant Churches?"

The Term "Protestant Churches"

Owing to the modern attempt to change the connotation of historical ecclesiastical terminology it is necessary in considering this point to be clear in our definitions. It is evident, for instance, that the Caroline divines would not have endorsed Bishop Headlam's limitation of the designation "Protestant Churches." Bishop Sanderson, one of their most prominent representatives, declares "By the Protestant Churches we understand those visible Churches which having by an external separation freed themselves from the tyranny and idolatry of Popery, have more or less reformed their doctrine and worship from popish cor-

[5] *History, Christianity and Theology*, p. 283.

ruptions and restored them more or less to the ancient primitive purity." And he enumerates such Churches as " The Church of England, the Church of Denmark, the Church of Saxony, etc."[1] But if by the term " Protestant Churches " is intended the existing English non-episcopal communions, then it must be admitted that the Caroline divines did regard the Church of England as occupying a middle position between their forerunners, the English " sectaries," as they were then described, and Rome. But even so, such *via media* position was concerned rather with discipline and polity than with doctrine. Thus Bishop Ferne (of Chester) in writing against sectaries and papists says " The English Protestant, or obedient son of the Church of England, as he is well set between a Papist and a sectary, as between two extremes, so he only is able to stand against the opposition or pretensions of both ; for if we examine the false grounds and deceiving principles of both as to this point of *the constitution, government and communion of the Church,* we shall see clearly the truth lies in the midst between both and the Church of England holds and maintains it."[2] It is significant that there is no mention here of doctrine. We should remember also that the Caroline divines not only followed the Elizabethan Reformers in adopting the practically universal belief of the lawfulness *of only* one form of religion for a particular nation, but they also held, perhaps even more strongly than their predecessors, that to separate from a purely Reformed and apostolically organised National Church was a grievous act of schism. If however this ambiguous term " Protestant Churches " is designed to cover *the foreign Reformed Churches* then it is certainly historically incorrect to say that the Caroline divines regarded the Church of England as taking a *via media* position between them and Rome. For they regarded the Anglican

[1] Reprinted in *Two Treatises on the Ch.*, 183.
[2] *A Compendious Discourse, &c.*, Sect. 2.

Church as a real, and probably the chief partner, with the other Reformed Churches in the defence of the *Protestant Faith* against Roman corruptions. Seventeen bishops in 1641 joined in a solemn protestation to "maintain and defend the true Reformed Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England," while in reply to a question in the House of Lords in 1673 several bishops explained that "the Protestant Religion is comprehended in the Thirty Nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Homilies, the Catechism, and the Canons of the Church of England."[1] They rejoiced in the real unity of doctrine which existed between all the Reformed Protestant Churches as evidenced in the "Harmony of Protestant Confessions of Faith" which was issued in 1583 and to which Canon 30 of 1604 refers as approving the Anglican adoption of the ceremony of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism.

Bishop Joseph Hall clearly emphasises this Protestant unity and solidarity when he declares "Blessed be God there is no essential difference between the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. *We accord in every point of Christian doctrine without the least variation.*[2] "We do love and honour these our sister Churches as the dear spouse of Christ."[3] Bishop Cosin similarly emphasises this Protestant solidarity in urging English refugees while in France to join in communion with the French Reformed Churches, since they thereby "declare their unity in professing *the same religion which they and you do.*" And he concludes with the pertinent query that if they renounce the foreign Reformed Churches "what will become of the Protestant party?"[4] This recognition of the English Church as the ally and champion of other Reformed

[1] Campbell's *Lives of Chancellors*, IV., 187 (1857).
[2] *Works*, V., 56., 1811.
[3] *Defence of Humble Remonstrance.* § 14 *Works* IX., 690.
[4] *Works*, IV., 401.

Churches was very marked amongst the Caroline divines. It is conspicuously evidenced in the address which Convocation made to William III. in 1589 when it thanked him " for his pious zeal and care for the honour of the Church of England whereby we doubt not the interest of *the Protestant Religion* in all other Protestant Churches, *which is dear to us*, will be better secured."[1] Convocation evidently regarded the safeguarding of the Anglican Church as the best means of securing the Reformed Religion everywhere. The same sentiment was voiced by Archbishop Sancroft in the previous year when, under the stress of the Romish attack on the English Church he even includes the English Dissenters in his concern for the common Protestant cause, since he exhorts his clergy " to join in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace for the universal blessed union of all Reformed Churches *both at home and abroad against our common enemies.*"[2]

The Caroline View of the Authority of the Church

There is certainly therefore ample evidence to show that the Caroline divines instead of teaching that the Anglican Church held a *via media* position between Rome and " The Protestant Churches " were most anxious to prove its claim to be " something very different *from Rome*," and at the same time its essential identity with " the Protestant Churches." But apart from this general attitude let us examine carefully if there is any evidence that the Caroline divines took a *via media* position concerning the authority of the Church and the Scriptures. Did they in any way modify the principle of Scripture alone as the final standard of authority which the Reformers laid down for the Church of England? Would they have accepted Dr. Kidd's standard of the " Scriptures and the Undivided Church " or even a more recent Rule of Faith to be deter-

[1] Cardwell *Synodalia*, II., 698.
[2] D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*, I., 325.

mined by the "Scriptures and the Creeds, Conciliar decisions, and the common teaching of representative divines?"[1] Archbishop Cranmer stated the Reformed position most clearly when he said "If thou be desirous to know whether thou be in the right Faith or no, seek it not at man's mouth, seek it not at a proud, glorious and wavering sort of bishops and priests, but at God's own mouth, which is His Holy Word Written which can neither lie, deceive nor be deceived." Cranmer goes on to say that while godly learned men may be consulted for instruction in the Scriptures they are not to be believed "further than they can show their doctrine and exhortation to be agreeable to the true Word of God Written, for that is the very touchstone which must, yea, and will also, try all doctrine and learning whether it be good or evil, true or false."[2] "The authority of the orthodox Fathers," he declared on another occasion, "is by no means to be despised . . . but that the Holy Scriptures ought to be interpreted by their decisions we do not allow, for the Holy Scripture ought to be to us both the rules and judges of all Christian doctrines."[3] Similarly Bishop Jewel in his "Apology" declared Scripture to be "the very sure and infallible rule whereunto all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account."[4] Is there any evidence showing that the prominent Anglican divines of the next century departed in any way from this very definite position?

Certainly no better representative of the earlier Caroline divines can be found than Dr. Field, Dean of Gloucester, the friend of Hooker. He was a member of the Hampton Court Conference, and a most learned, profound theologian. He died in 1616 at the age of 55. In his celebrated treatises "Of the Church" Field

[1] *The Faith of an English Catholic*, Darwell Stone, 22.
[2] *Works*, II., 13-14.
[3] *Reformatio Legum*, Tit. I., c. 15 (1850).
[4] Part II., Ch. IX., 28 (1852).

examines the witness of the early and mediæval Church to the "sufficiency of the Scriptures." He quotes with approval, S. Augustine, who declares that "whatsoever a man shall learn without and beside the Scripture, if it be hurtful, it is there condemned, if profitable it is there found." He also refers to Scotus who affirms "whatsoever pertaineth to the heavenly and supernatural knowledge, and is necessary to be known of man in this life is sufficiently delivered in the sacred Scriptures." He cites Ockham that "there is one opinion that only those verities are to be esteemed catholic, and such as are necessarily to be believed for the attaining of salvation, which either expressly are delivered in Scripture, or by necessary consequence may be inferred from things so expressed." Field then sums up the patristic and mediæval writers by saying "By this which hath been said it appeareth that the Church wherein our fathers lived and died was in this point touching the sufficiency of Scripture, an orthodox and true Protestant Church."[1] Again in refuting the error that the authority of the Church was superior to that of Scripture, Field argues that although "the Church of all the faithful" may be "free from any error," "yet we dare not make it equal to the Scriptures,[1] for that Scripture, is infallibly true as inspired immediately from the Spirit of truth, securing the writers of it from error." "The whole Church," he concludes, ("i.e., all the faithful that have been since and beside the Apostles) is subject to the Scripture in all her parts, and hath her infallibility from it, and therefore, in her manner of having the truth is *inferior* unto it, neither are we bound to receive her doctrines as the sacred Scriptures."[2]

In treating of the special authority of the Church to judge matters of faith, Field prefaces his remarks by declaring that the "judgment or determination of

[1] *Of the Church*, Vol. 2., 127-40.
[2] *Of the Church*, Vol. II., 433.

the Word of God is that wherein we rest *as the rule of our faith* and the light of divine understanding as that whereby we judge of all things."[1] But in dealing with the Church's judgment in "particular things," Field lays down certain rules or guides such as the Apostles' Creed, the Scriptures, the "unanimous consent of all the saints in their writings, and what the most famous have constantly and uniformly delivered, without any contradiction, as a matter of faith so that those gainsaying them were charged with heresy." The last two rules Field declares are *not to be admitted as equal with the former two.* Moreover, "the decrees of Councils, and the determinations of Popes," he affirms, "are not to be numbered as rules of faith," because "we have no proof of their infallibility." He concludes by saying "We do not therefore so make the Scripture the rule of our faith as to neglect the other (rules), nor so admit the other as to detract anything from *the plentitude of Scripture* in which all things are contained that must be believed."[2] Such statements are surely very far from accepting the standard of "the Scriptures and the undivided Church" or of "the Scriptures, Creeds, and the common teaching of representative divines." In fact it would not seem that Field's position differs materially from Cranmer's dictum concerning the authority of the Fathers, or from the rules laid down by the Reformers in the Articles—that although "the Church hath authority in controversies of Faith," yet it may not "so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another," nor "enforce anything" beside Scripture "to be believed for necessity of salvation" (Art. XXX.).

Archbishop Laud speaks in, if anything, more definite language, when arguing against the Jesuit, Fisher, he declares "I admit no ordinary rule left in the Church of divine and infallible verity, and so *of faith*, but the

[1] *Of the Church*, Vol. II., 439.
[2] *Of the Chruch*, Vol. II., 444.

Scripture, . . , Christ hath left an infallible rule the Scripture, what need is there of another since this is most infallible, and the same which the antient Church of Christ admitted."[1]

If we turn to a later Caroline divine renowned for his learning, piety and orthodoxy, we shall also find abundant evidence that Scripture alone is regarded as the sole rule of faith, although the Creeds, the first four General Councils, and *unanimous* Catholic traditional teaching are accepted as guides in judging heresy. For Bishop Jeremy Taylor makes it quite clear that " the Scripture is a full and sufficient rule to Christians in faith and manners, a full and perfect declaration of the will of God, and is therefore certain because we have no other " . . . " we have no reason to rely upon tradition for any part of our faith."[2] When we find him definitely declaring that " the fulness and sufficiency of Scripture in all matters of faith and manners is the principle that I and all Protestants rely upon."[3] there is no possibility of claiming him as a supporter of any *via media* view that Church teaching and authority should be based on the rule of " the Scriptures and the undivided Church." Taylor makes his position quite clear when he says in his " Dissuasive from Popery " that " nothing else than the Scriptures can be the foundation of our faith," although " to these we also add, not as authors or finishers, but as helpers of our faith and heirs of the doctrine Apostolical, the sentiments and Catholic doctrine of the Church of God in all ages next after the Apostles." But Taylor is careful to make it clear that although " the Fathers are admirable helps for the understanding of the Scriptures " yet no certain and decisive appeal can be made to their teaching, so that he concludes " we do wholly rely upon the Scriptures as the foundation and

[1] *Works*, II., 218 (1849).
[2] *Dissuasive Works*, X., 419-20.
[3] *Works*, X., 268-70.

final resort of all our persuasions and from thence can never be confuted" (Part I. Book I.).

It is well perhaps also to record the testimony of a celebrated Anglican Calvinist divine of this period. The learned and "heavenly" Dr. Richard Sibbes (1578-1635) was Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, when Jeremy Taylor was an undergraduate. He was not only a man of ripe scholarship but also a profound theologian of deep piety, of whom Isaac Walton declared " Of this just man let this just praise be given Heaven was in him, before he was in heaven."

Speaking of the unique and final authority of Scripture, Sibbes says "It hath a supreme authority from itself." " What," he asks, " is the judge of all controversies ? " and answers " The Word, the Spirit of God in the Scriptures." Refuting the theory that the authority of the Scripture depends on the Church, he says " A carrier sheweth us these be letters from such a man, but when we open the letter and see the hand and seal we know them to be his. The Church knows the Word and explaineth it, and when we see and feel the efficacy of the Word in itself, then we believe it to be the Word, for there is the Word that sheweth it to be the Word."[1]

Dr. Thomas Jackson, Dean of Peterborough, another early Caroline divine, whom the late Dr. Pusey described as " one of the best and greatest divines Our Church hath nurtured," thus defines the difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome over the Rule of Faith. " The making of ecclesiastical tradition to be an integral part of the Canon of Faith, (which the Roman Church hath done) doth not only pollute but undermine the whole fabric of the holy, primitive and Catholic Faith." " We affirm," he continues, " with antiquity and in particular with Vincentius Lirinensis that the canon of Scripture is a rule of faith, perfect for quantity, and sufficient for quality,

[1] *Works*, II., 493-4 (1862).

that is, it contains all things in it that are necessary to salvation . . . without relying on any other rule or authority equivalent to them in certainty. The modern Roman Church adds tradition as another part of the same rule homogeneal and equivalent to it for quality." And he adds that to supply the insufficiency of both the Scriptures and tradition, the Roman Church superadds "the infallible authority of the present visible Church," which "utterly pulls down the structure of faith"; although Dr. Jackson is careful to explain "When we reject ecclesiastical tradition from being any part of the rule of faith, we do not altogether deny the authority or use of it."[1]

Again if we consult the writings of one of the most prominent and representative of the later Caroline divines, Archbishop Bramhall, we shall find no mention of, or support for, a *via media* position of the "Scriptures and the Undivided Church, or the "Scriptures and the common teaching of representative divines" as the standard of Anglican authority. Bramhall certainly accepts the Apostles Creed as a rule of Faith, but only because it is a concise summary of Scriptural teaching. "The Scriptures and Creed," he says, "are not two different rules of faith, but one and the same rule dilated in Scripture and contracted in the Creed."[2] Similarly Bishop Pearson in urging his parishioners "to embrace the first faith to which they cannot have a more probable guide than the Creed," declares that he refers them to this "as it leads you to the Scriptures." And he adds that he has "laid the foundation of the whole work" (*i.e.*, his "Exposition of the Creed") "Upon the written Word of God."[3] Bishop Stillingfleet speaks even more definitely when he says "the Scripture being our sole and entire rule of faith, all matters necessary to salvation must be supposed to be contained therein."[4]

[1] On the Creed, *Two Treatises on the Church*, 155-6.
[2] *Works*, V., 597.
[3] *Ibid*, pp. 2-5 (1880).
[4] *Discourse and Grounds of Certainty of Faith*, 51.

We might continue our investigation through the writings of all the leading Caroline divines and we should find that while they give due deference and weight to "Conciliar decisions" and to the accumulated traditional teaching and wisdom of the Universal Church, they never exalt these secondary guides or authorities to be on a level with the supreme rule of Faith in the Scriptures. While they frequently affirm that the teaching of the whole undivided Catholic Church through its œcumenical Councils is not to be lightly rejected—that is where it can be clearly ascertained in the case of the great Catholic Creeds or in the writings of the Early Fathers. But they make it clear that all these standards or appeals must *be subordinate* to the sole divine rule of Faith in Holy Scripture. On this point they occupy no *via media* position between Rome and the other Reformed Churches. They never seriously challenge what Mr. Eeles terms "the old Protestant view"—that the "ultimate authority is Scripture."

Chapter VII

THE CHURCH OF ROME

We have already seen that there is no shadow of evidence to prove that amongst the Elizabethan divines and their immediate successors there was any *via media* position adopted concerning the claims and distinctive doctrines of the Roman Church. By her unscriptural additions to the Nicene Creed and especially by her idolatrous teaching on the Mass, Rome was regarded by the Anglican and all the Reformed Churches, as the "harlot of Babylon" and as cut off from the true Catholic Church. Let us now consider whether this strong and extreme attitude was in any way altered by the views of the Caroline divines? Was there any serious attempt to minimise the line of "deep doctrinal cleavage" which separated the Anglican from the Roman Churches or to narrow down, as the "Anglo-Catholics" do to-day, the points at issue between them to a mere question of Papal supremacy and infallibility?

The Caroline View of Rome

I think we may safely say that while the century which separated them from the original schism with Rome may have led the Carolines in some small measure to modify their language in describing the corruptions and abuses of the Roman Church, there is no indication that they took a less serious view than their Elizabethan predecessors, of any attempt at fellowship or communion, with what they certainly regarded as an apostate and fallen branch of the Christian Church. Thus Archbishop Usher, one of the profoundest theologians of the

Caroline period, in preaching before James I. in 1624, says of the Romanists, " The Catholic-Roman Church as they are commonly called by themselves, but by the Holy Ghost—the beast upon whom the woman sitteth." " If any one," he goes on, " will needs be so foolhardy as to take up his lodging in such a pest house after warning given him of the present danger; we in our charity will say, ' Lord, have mercy upon him.'"

Again Bishop Bull, the learned and celebrated defender of the Nicene faith of the Catholic Church, referring to the early purity of the Roman Church, declares " Oh, that so great a happiness, such purity of faith had always continued in that Church. But alas we may cry out in the holy prophet's words, How is the faithful city become an harlot."

In common with the Reformers he even questions the possibility of salvation for those who belong to her communion, " I verily believe they are in great danger of their salvation who live in her communion, that is who own her erroneous doctrines and join in her corrupt worship." " My constant judgment of the Church of Rome" he affirms, " hath been that if she may be allowed still to remain a part, or member of the Catholic Church (which hath been questioned by many learned men upon grounds and reasons not very easy to be answered) yet she is certainly a very unsound and corrupted one and sadly degenerated from her primitive purity; . . . These superadded articles of the Trent Creed are, so far from being certain truths, that they are most of them manifest untruths, yea, gross and dangerous errors." " To enumerate and represent in their proper colours all the corruptions of the worship of God in the Roman Church," would, declares Bishop Bull, " fill a large volume." This condemnation differs but little from a similar judgment passed by Hooker in the previous century, while it has not the slightest affinity with the convictions of a modern " Anglo-

Catholic" who can carefully explain and approve of all these modern distinctive Roman doctrines.[1]

Bishop Bull, we must remember is replying to some criticisms of his writings by the Romanist Bishop of Meaux, and he practically re-echoes Bishop Latimer's statement—that "it is one thing to say Romish Church and quite another to say Catholic Church"—when he displays amazement that his critic should assume that "the Roman and the Catholic Church are convertible terms." "The Catholic Church," he informs him, is the "Church Universal," "a collection of all the branches throughout the world, who retain the faith once delivered to the saints . . . that faith and religion which was delivered by the Apostles of Christ to the first original Churches. Which faith and religion is contained in the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, and the main fundamentals of it comprised in the canon or rule of faith universally received throughout the primitive churches and the profession thereof acknowledged to be a sufficient tessera or badge of a Catholic Christian."[2]

Archbishop Bramhall took up an equally definite position and we certainly cannot imagine him joining in any "conversations" for reunion with Rome when he declares, "We all deny that the Church of Rome is morally a true Church because it is corrupted and erroneous. We make it a living body, but sick and full of ulcers." Episcopal divines, he declares "look upon Popery as the very gangrene of the Church;" since he adds "We maintain that the Church of Rome brought in these corruptions in Faith, Practice, Liturgy, and use of Sacraments, and what is more did require the profession of her errors as a condition of communicating with her. It was no sin in us but virtue and necessity to separate from her."[3]

[1] See Darwell Stone's *Faith of an English Catholic.*
[2] *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, 225-304, London 1705.
[3] *Works*, II., 33, and III., 519 (1842).

Similarly Dr. Pierce, preaching before the King in 1662 on the subject of Papal supremacy, declared, in complete vindication of the attitude of the Anglican Reformers, "Our Reformers, discovered in every part of the Church of Rome, not only horrible corruptions in point of practice, but hideous errors in point of doctrine and that in matters of faith too."[1]

The Elizabethan divines had declared that it was quite unlawful to have fellowship with Papists in their churches and we find that this was also the considered opinion of their Caroline successors, for Bishop Ferne (of Chester) declares that the Church of Rome " is not such a Church that they that have means to know better can safely or occasionally communicate with," since " we do not quarrel with the Church of Rome for matters of rite, order or the like, but of faith and worship."[2] Herbert Thorndike, whose Church and Sacramental views were probably the " highest " of all the Caroline divines, goes so far as to say that to live under the abuses of the Roman Church " is a burden insufferable for a Christian to undergo," and "to approve them by being reconciled to the Church that maintains them is a scandal incurable and irreparable."[3] Bishop Sanderson, in a " Discourse concerning the Church," also asserted most definitely that the " Church of Rome is a false and corrupt Church and is indeed an anti-Christian congregation," and "the worship required and performed in the Church of Rome is in most things superstitious and in some lately idolatrous and such as wherein a good Christian cannot lawfully communicate with her."

The Caroline Divines and the Mass and Purgatory

If we turn to the distinctive teachings of the Roman Church we find amongst the Caroline Divines no trace

[1] *Catholic Safeguards*, I., 598 (1851).
[2] *Of the Division between the English and Romish Churches upon the Reformation*, London 1655.
[3] *Works* IV., 910 (1853).

of a *Via Media* position approaching to that adopted by modern "Anglo-Catholics," or indeed of a position materially different from that of the early Reformers. It was the mass and its doctrine which was the basis of the controversy between the Romanists and the Reformers, and we still find the Caroline clergy in their Canons of 1640 officially referring "to the idolatry committed in the Mass."[1] A leading "Anglo-Catholic" to day openly declares not only that there are "no serious theological or religious objections" to the doctrine of transubstantiation, but that "the Eucharistic vestments have been restored in the English Church because they were felt to be an outward symbol that *in fundamental doctrine the Church of England is at one with the rest of Catholic Church*," that he himself longs for "the adoption" of the very "colours and methods" of Roman Mass Ceremonial.[2]

In striking contrast to such a statement the Caroline "Anglo-Catholic" declared that "The whole administration of it (the Eucharist) in the Church of Rome is so clogged, metamorphized and defaced by the addition of a multitude of ceremonies, and those some of them more becoming the stage than the table of our Lord, that if the blessed Apostles were alive and present at the celebration of mass in the Roman Church, they would be amazed and wonder what the meaning of it was, sure I am they would never own it to be that same ordinance which they left to the Churches."[3]

Almost equally with their whole-hearted repudiation of the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass the Reformers were unsparing in their condemnation of the teaching of the Mediæval Church concerning Purgatory. As early as 1549 Visitation Articles strictly forbade any to "maintain purgatory or invocation of saints," while Cranmer distinctly denied the existence of such a

[1] Cardwell *Synodalia*, I., 404.
[2] Darwell Stone *The Faith of an English Catholic*, 40-41.
[3] Bishop Bull, *Corruptions of the Ch. of Rome*, 304 (1705).

state, so that the Homily on "Prayer" asks incredulously "Where is the third place which they call purgatory?" To-day there is a revival of a belief in purgatory in the Anglican Church, and it is a recognised tenet of "Anglo-Catholics." But when we read the statements of prominent Caroline theologians we see that they made no attempt to modify the views of their predecessors on this subject. Dean Field in his celebrated treatise "Of the Church," says "The Romish conceit of purgatory and their praying to deliver thence, none of the Eastern Churches admit neither do we." Bishop Jeremy Taylor in his "Dissuasive from Popery," commenting on S. John v. 24[1] declares "They have eternal life, suffer no intermediate punishment, judgment or condemnation after death, for death and life are the whole progression according to the doctrine of Christ and Him we chose to follow." "Purgatory," he affirms, "is a device to make men half Christians—a device to make men go to heaven and hell too."[2] Bishop Bull is equally as definite when he says "This article of a purgatory after this life, a place and state of misery and torment whereunto many faithful souls go presently after death and there remain till they are thoroughly purged from their dross, or delivered thence by masses, indulgences, etc., is contrary to Scripture and the sense of the Catholic Church for at least the first four centuries. Indeed the doctrine of purgatory is a dangerous error which I am verily persuaded hath betrayed a multitude of souls into eternal perdition."

In similar language Herbert Thorndike states that "the prayers of the Church of Rome for the delivering of souls out of purgatory-pain have no ground in the tradition of the Church; there being no such place as purgatory among those store houses which are designed

[1] Vol. II., p. 98.
[2] Part I., Ch. I., sect. IV., and III.

for those that depart in the state of grace till the day of judgment."[1]

Bishop Cosin cites as a point on which the Anglican Church "totally dissents" from the Roman, the doctrine "that there is a purgatory after this life, wherein the souls of the dead are punished and from whence they are fetched out by the prayers and offerings of the living."[2]

Archbishop Bramall also asks incredulously "which way are the souls of the dead bettered by the prayers of the living?", and he denies that there are any souls in Purgatory to be helped.[3]

It is obvious therefore as far as the great Caroline divines are concerned that the modern claim of a practical doctrinal identity between the Anglican and Roman Churches is a novel theory utterly unknown both to the Reformers and to their XVIIth century successors.

[1] *Works*, II., 723.
[2] Brogden *Catholic Safeguards*, I., 190 (1851).
[3] *Works*, II., 633 (1842).

THE EUCHARIST

Chapter VIII

A study of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement abundantly proves that not only the teaching of the Anglican formularies, but that of all the leading Elizabethan divines was, that there is a real spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist—a "presence of Christ" as Bishop Jeremy Taylor described it, "as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful by blessing and grace;"[1] and not one locally in or with the elements by virtue of consecration. Both the Anglican and foreign Reformed divines agreed in this belief, and also in rejecting strongly not only the Roman theory of transubstantiation but the Lutheran explanation of Consubstantiation. There is however ample evidence to prove that an increasing number of modern Anglican divines have seriously departed from this Reformed and Scriptural position, and hold Eucharistic views which are practically identical with the Romish teaching of the Sacrifice of the Mass and transubstantiation. "What is theologically and devotionally important," writes Dr. Darwell Stone, "is the positive truth that the consecrated sacrament is the body and blood of Christ."[2] It would be easy to multiply such individual statements but it is sufficient to refer to the "Declaration of Faith" issued by the English Church Union in 1922, which plainly states that Anglican priests "offer the unbloody sacrifice of the Eucharist for the living and the dead," and that "by consecration in

[1] *Works* VI., 17.
[2] *Faith of an Eng. Catholic*, 38.

the Eucharist, the bread and wine are changed and become the true body and the true blood of Christ and as such are given to and received by the faithful." Such a statement as this not only involves the teaching of a real objective and carnal presence of Christ in the elements, but it declares definitely that such a change is, to use Dr. Kidd's assertion, " consequent upon Consecration and not upon Communion."[1]

Did the Caroline Divines Teach Reservation and Adoration?

Now we are not so much concerned in this inquiry with the theological implications of such a doctrine as with its comparative novelty and departure from historical Anglican teaching. We are therefore anxious to discover whether there are any precedents for such teaching in the theology of our forefathers, and in particular whether any of the great representative Caroline divines of the XVIIth century held what might be termed a *Via Media* position on this subject. Is for instance a self-styled " Anglo-Catholic " school of thought enunciating novel Anglican Eucharistic teaching or merely more clearly defining that which was held and taught, if not by the Reformers then at least by some of their successors in the Caroline age ?

We should remember that a doctrine such as that stated in this E.C.U. Declaration, logically involves, as Dr. Darwell Stone has forcibly contended, not only that Christ " thus present in the elements is to be adored " but that " this presence is not transitory but permanent," and thus " when the sacrament is reserved Adoration is right also."[2] In fact not only the Sacrifice of the Mass, but the other Roman practices of Reservation, Adoration and benediction are all natural corollaries of this doctrine of the Real Objective Presence of Christ in the elements by virtue of consecration. If

[1] *Thirty Nine Articles*, 227.
[2] *Reservation*, 56.

therefore we find that the Caroline divines held this doctrine we shall also expect to find them sympathetic towards these consequent implications.

Bishop Andrewes has often been cited as teaching a view of the Real Presence similar to that now propounded by the modern "Anglo-Catholic" school, since in writing against Cardinal Bellarmine he asserts "We believe in a true Presence no less than you, concerning the mode of the Presence we define nothing rashly, nor do we anxiously inquire." But the conclusion of this sentence precludes us from thinking that Andrewes regarded this Presence as in the *elements*, since he adds "any more than in our Baptism how the blood of Christ washes us."[1] Certainly Andrewes did not believe in a Real Presence of Christ's blood in the water of Baptism. It is also impossible to think that Andrewes could believe in the Presence of Christ under the forms of the consecrated bread and wine, when he scorns the practice of Adoration by saying "Let them adore the Deity, made in a baker's oven, veiled under the species—Sion would shudder at this and flee from it." Moreover we need to remember in interpreting Andrewes' Eucharistic language that he speaks of the Real Presence of Christ's *crucified* and not *glorified* body. "By the incomprehensible power of His eternal Spirit, not He alone, but He, as at the very act of His offering, is made present to us, and we incorporate into His death and invested in the benefits of it. If an host could be turned into Him now glorified as He is, it would not serve; Christ offered it is—thither we must look. To the Serpent lift up, thither we must repair, even ad cadaver."[2] This explains Andrewes' language when in confuting Bellarmine he says "Christ is truly present in the Eucharist, and truly to be adored, to wit the *res sacramenti* but not *the sacrament*, to wit, the earthly part. We also adore the flesh of Christ in the mysteries,

[1] *Responsio*, 13.
[2] *Sermons*, Vol. II., 302 (1841).

not *that thing* but *Him who* is worshipped above the altar (cum qui super altare colitur). Yet we none of us adore the sacrament."[1]

Accordingly we find that Andrewes strongly condemns Reservation with the consequent practice of Adoration. "This your carrying about is contrary to the command of Christ nor does Scripture anywhere support it. It was instituted as a Sacrament that it should be received and eaten and not to be reserved and carried about. Beyond the design of the Sacrament, beyond the force of the command no use of it exists. Let that be done which Christ willed to be done when He said "Do this," let nothing remain which the priest may exhibit out of the pyx and the people adore."[2] The rubric which the Caroline divines inserted in 1661 at the close of our Communion service, providing for the reverent consumption of any remaining elements, fully carried out Andrewes' precaution in this respect. While Andrewes willingly admits that in primitive times Reservation or "extended Communion" was the custom for the purpose of communicating the sick, he adds that the Anglican service for the Communion of the Sick renders such a custom unnecessary. "Reservation needeth not, the intent is had without it."[3] Again in replying to Cardinal Perron, he admits that Anglicans "hold the Sacrament to be venerable and with all due respect to be handled and received," yet he quotes Theodoret to prove that "the sacramental symbols after the Consecration go not from their own nature, but abide in their former substance, shape and kind," and he adds "the symbols so abiding, it is easily known no divine adoration can be used to them."[4]

Bishop Jeremy Taylor denounces this practice of Adoration in even clearer and stronger language, when

[1] *Responsio*, 266-7.
[2] *Responsio*, 267.
[3] *Minor Works*, p. 19, 1854.
[4] *Minor Works*, 17.

he says " It is certain they commit an act of idolatry in giving Divine honour to a mere creature, which is the image of the Sacrament, and representment of the body of Christ. The distance between God and bread dedicated to the service of God is so vast, the danger of worshipping that which is not God, is so formidable that if it had been intended that we should have worshipped the Holy Sacrament the Holy Scripture would have called it God or Jesus Christ, or have bidden us in express terms to have adored it."[1] " If," he declares on another occasion, " these things can consist with the duty of Christians not only to eat what they worship, but to adore those things with Divine worship, which are not God . . . then we have lost the true measures of Christianity. And although we doubt not that there are in the Roman Communion many very good Christians, yet they are not such, as they are Papists, but by something that is higher and before that."[2] Archbishop Bramhall declares that the Roman practices of " detaining the Cup from the laity and of the necessity of adoring the Sacrament, "are a just reason for Protestants to refuse to " participate of the Eucharist in the Roman Church."[3]

We may safely say that there is no indication of a *Via Media* position on Eucharistic teaching in such statements as these, while there is a great gulf between them and the candid admission of Dr. Darwell Stone concerning modern " Anglo-Catholic " worship, that " Devotions," a form of service in which the reserved Sacrament is a centre for worship, have been found both of much attractiveness and of real spiritual help."[4] " It has," he adds " been found in practice to be a means of deepening spiritual life and strengthening the spiritual energies of faithful souls."

[1] *Real Presence*, § XIII.
[2] *Dissuasive from Popery*, part I., Ch. I., Sect. XIII.
[3] *Works*, I., 110.
[4] *Faith of an English Catholic*, 51-4.

Transubstantiation and the Objective Presence in the Elements

Jeremy Taylor is equally clear in his positive explanation of the Lord's Supper in rejecting the Romish theories of transubstantiation or of any objective Presence in the elements. "When Christ instituted the Sacrament and said, "this is My Body which is broken, because at that time Christ's body was not broken naturally and properly, the very words of institution do force us to understand the Sacrament in a sense not natural but spiritual, that is truly sacramental. And all this is besides the plain demonstration of sense, which tells us it is bread and it is wine naturally as much after as before consecration." "We warn our people," he says, "that they be not abused out of the Fathers, calling the Sacrament the body or the flesh of Christ. For we all believe it so and rejoice in it. But the question is, after what manner is it so, whether after the manner of the flesh or after the manner of spiritual grace and sacramental consequence. We with the holy Scriptures and the primitive Fathers affirm the latter."[1]

Another prominent Caroline divine, Bishop Cosin, in his "History of Transubstantiation" devotes a whole chapter to prove that there is no *Via Media* position between the Church of England and the other Reformed Churches on the Eucharist. He shows from their published "Confessions" of Faith that they all agree with one consent "in maintaining a real, that is a true, but not a carnal presence of Christ in the blessed Sacrament." To the same effect he quotes such leading Reformers as Luther, Bucer and Calvin, but he is careful to show that both the Anglican and foreign Reformed divines hold that such a Presence is to be understood in *a spiritual* sense only. Cosin carefully defines the Protestant view of the Real Presence, admitting that the "use and office" of the

[1] *Dissuasive*, Pt. I., Ch. I., Sect., XI. and V.

elements " is changed from what it was before," so that " our ordinary is changed into mystic bread and the thing signified is offered and given to us as truly as the sign itself." " But," he adds, " we deny that the substance of bread and wine are quite abolished and changed into the body and blood of Our Lord, in such sort that the bare accidents of the elements do alone remain united with Christ's body and blood, . . . they (the Romanists) will have our union with Christ to be corporal, and our eating of Him likewise and we on the contrary maintain it to be indeed as true, but not carnal or natural." And in excluding all customs of reservation or adoration, Cosin denies " that the elements still retain the nature of Sacrament when not used according to divine institution," so since Christ is present only to the worthy communicants, and therefore He " ought not and cannot be kept and preserved to be carried about in the consecrated bread " (pp. 57-61). On another occasion in enumerating the differences between Anglicans and Romanists, Cosin declares that we totally dissent from them, " that the priests offer up Our Saviour in the Mass, as a real proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead," and "in holding of the Sacrament over the priest's head to be adored, the exposing of it in their churches to be worshipped by the people ; the circumgestation and carrying it abroad in procession upon their Corpus Christi day and to the sick.[1]

Probably Archbishop Bramhall was one of the ablest Caroline exponents of Anglican theology. While fully believing in a true spiritual Presence, he follows Andrewes in refusing to define the *manner* of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament. We leave " the manner to Him that made the Sacrament. We know it is sacramental and therefore efficacious because God is never wanting to His own ordinances." But his reply to his Romanist opponent. M. de la Milletiere, proves

[1] Reprinted in Brogden, *Catholic Safeguards* I., 190-1.

that he does not believe the Presence to be in the elements. " We dare not," he says " give Divine Worship to any creature, no not to the very humanity of Christ in the abstract (much less to the Host) but to the whole Person of Christ, God and Man. Shew us such an union betwixt the Deity and the elements and you say something." " There is," he adds, " no more adoration due to the Sacrament than to the garments which Christ did wear upon earth. Exact no more."[1] Bramhall believed strongly in the effectiveness of the consecration of the sacrament whether this was effected " by prayer as in the Eastern Church." or " by enunciation of the words of Christ as in the Western." " Our consecration," he declares, " is a repetition of that which was done by Christ and now done by him that consecrateth in the person of Christ." So he asserts, " They who are ordained Priests, ought to have power to consecrate the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, that is, to make them present after such manner *as they were at the first institution.*"[2]

It is obvious that Christ was not present *in the elements* according to His human nature, " at the first institution," but just as He was present then by His divine power and blessing, so by His Spirit is He present now in the whole rite which He Himself instituted. As Jeremy Taylor said Christ is not present in the Blessed Sacrament according to His human nature, and to worship Him as such " must needs be idolatry." There is at least a marked divergence in the use of religious terminology between Caroline Churchmen and some modern Anglicans, since the former did not scruple to apply the condemnatory term " idolatry," to uses of the Sacrament which modern " Anglo-Catholics " are now reviving, and concerning which even a modern bishop declares the use of the word

[1] *Works*, 21-2 (1842).
[2] *Works*, III., 165.

" idolatry " to be both " irrelevant " and " provocative."[1]

Bishop Bull, however, probably one of the most learned of all the Caroline theologians, describes " the elevation of the host to be adored by the people as the very Christ Himself under the appearance of bread," as " a practice which nothing can excuse from the grossest idolatry." When he goes on to speak of " the gross stupidity" of the Romanists " thinking that a piece of bread can by any means whatsoever or howsoever consecrated and blessed become their very God and Saviour,"[2] we cannot imagine him using a much lighter word than idolatry with regard to the definite statement that " by consecration the bread and wine are changed and become the true body and the true blood of Christ and that Christ thus present is to be adored."[3] Bishop Bull is equally clear in his denunciation of the Sacrifice of the mass and transubstantiation " That in the Eucharist the very body and blood of Christ are again offered up to God as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of men . . . is an impious proposition derogatory to the one full satisfaction of Christ by His death on the Cross and contrary to express Scripture." It seems difficult to reconcile such a statement with the belief that Anglican priests offer " the unbloody sacrifice of the Eucharist for both the living and the departed"; especially since Bull goes on to explain the propriety of the term " commemorative sacrifice " for the Eucharist, because " the Fathers believed our Saviour appointed this Sacrament of bread and wine as a rite whereby to give thanks and make supplications to His Father in His Name. The Eucharistical sacrifice thus explained is indeed λογεκὴθυσια widely different from that mon-

[1] Bishop of Winchester in *Reservation*, VII.
[2] Brogden, *Catholic Safeguards*, II., 586.
[3] E. C. U. *Declaration*.

strous sacrifice of the Mass taught in the Church of Rome."[1]

In refuting the theory of transubstantiation as a defiance to "reason and sense" and contrary to Scripture, Bull refers to the words of institution and declares that "they cannot be true in a proper sense for Our Saviour's body was not then given or broken, but whole or inviolate, nor was there any one drop of His blood yet shed. The words therefore must necessarily be understood in a figurative sense. The meaning of Our Saviour is plainly this "What I do now, is a representation of my death and passion near approaching and what I do now, do ye hereafter, do this in remembrance of Me, let this be a standing perpetual ordinance in my Church to the end of the world, let my death be thus enunciated and shown forth till I come to judgment."[2] Similarly Bishop Beveridge declares "that the very words of institution themselves are sufficient to convince any rational man, that that of which Our Lord said "This is My Body" was real bread, and so His body only in a figurative or sacramental sense and by consequence that the bread was not turned into His body, but His body was only represented by the bread."[3] Such language is surely a direct contradiction to the statement that "the bread and wine become the true body and the true blood of Christ?"

There is little doubt that of all the Caroline divines Herbert Thorndike, one of the Revisers of the Prayer Book in 1661, appears, at least at first sight, to approach most nearly to the doctrine of a real objective Presence of Christ in the elements by virtue of consecration. Admittedly Thorndike held curious and peculiar views as to the effect of consecration. He believed that the elements by consecration were united to the godhead of

[1] Reprinted in *Catholic Safeguards*, I., 546-7.
[2] *Corruptions of the Ch. of Rome.*
[3] *Thirty Nine Articles*, 477.

Christ in the same way as His natural flesh and blood was by Incarnation.[1] He speaks also of the elements being "changed, translated and turned into the substance of Christ's body and blood," but he adds "though as in a Sacrament, that is mystically."[2] Yet it is clear that he repudiates the theory of Christ's real Body being present in or under the Sacramental elements when he says "Is it any way pertinent to the spiritual eating of them (Christ's flesh and blood) that they are bodily present? Is it not far more proper to that which the Lord was about, (tending without question to the spiritual union which He seeks with His Church) that He should be understood to promise the mystical than the bodily presence in the Sacrament. "How is it requisite," he asks, "that they be there in bodily substance, as if the mystical presence of them were not a sufficient means to convey His Spirit, which we see conveyed by the mere spiritual consideration of a lively and effectual faith?"[3] "Seeing," he says, "that the flesh of Christ is taken up into heaven to sit down at God's right hand. . . His body we must understand to be confined to that place where the majesty of God appears to those that attend upon His throne."[4] Moreover Thorndike declares that the dogma of the Council of Trent that "Christ instituted a new passover to be sacrificed in the Eucharist is false,"[5] and he not only distinctly rejects both transubstantiation and consubstantiation, but it is evident that he would also condemn such practices as Reservation and Adoration, since he follows Bishop Cosin in asserting that the "change in the elements," however conceived and explained, is limited to their use to the communicants and expires with that use.[6]

[1] *Works*, V., 173.
[2] *Works*, IV., 73.
[3] *Works*, IV., Pt. I., 27 and 32.
[4] *Works*, IV., Pt. 147.
[5] *Works* V., 615.
[6] *Works* IV., Pt. I., 81 and 126.

Probably the general view of the Caroline divines on the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist could not be better expressed than in the language of Dean Aldrich in his "Reply to Two Discourses" published in 1687. He admits that the actual term "Real Presence" has no sanction from any Anglican formulary, yet he contends that it is perfectly legitimate and Scriptural. "It is evident," he says, "that Christ's *broken* body and *shed* blood do not now really exist nor can we really receive *them*, but only the benefits purchased by them." "But the body which now exists whereof we partake and to which we are united is the glorified body, and is therefore verily and indeed received and by consequence said to be really present notwithstanding its local absence. In the Holy Eucharist the sacrament is physically, the *res sacramenti* morally present." "we may say, it is really, essentially, nay corporally present; that is it is present inasmuch as it is really received to all intents and purposes for which the *res ipsa*, the essence, substance, the very body would be useful to us, if it were physically and locally present. They (the Papists) understand a *local* presence which we deny. We mean only a spiritual and virtual presence and explain the term we make use of to that effect" (pp. 13-18). This is practically the explanation which Cranmer gave on the same point. Aldrich also distinctly condemns the "Anglo-Catholic" theory of a local presence in the elements by virtue of consecration, when he adds "It is likewise evident that when we say Christ is present, or adorable in the Sacrament we do not mean in the elements, but in the celebration. We affirm His natural body to be in Heaven and not here, and that we, who are here and not in heaven ought to worship it as locally present in heaven, while we celebrate the Holy Sacrament upon earth" (*ibid*).

There is little question therefore that the modern theory, propounded by certain Anglican theologians, of a local objective presence of Our Lord in and with

the elements can find no precedents in the teaching, fairly interpreted, of the prominent Caroline divines of the XVIIth century.

It should also not be forgotten that an attempt to claim a lawful place for this teaching in our existing Anglican formularies cannot be established from the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of Mr. Bennett, of Frome. That Judgment affirmed the unlawfulness of teaching any Presence which is not "after an heavenly and spiritual manner." It also described Mr. Bennett's expression of a "real actual, objective Presence upon the altar," as "rash and ill judged" and "perilously near a violation of the law," and Mr. Bennett only escaped actual condemnation because he modified his original statement by omitting the significant words "*in the Consecrated elements.*"[1]

[1] See Report *Royal Commission*, 1906, p. 17.

Chapter IX.

THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY

It cannot be seriously questioned that on the doctrine of the Church and the Ministry the Anglican Reformers were practically at one with their brethren on the Continent. Let us now therefore consider whether their successors in the Caroline age materially departed from their teaching or held any *via media* views on these subjects. The Reformers had vigorously asserted their adherence to the Catholic Faith of the Church, "We are," said Bishop Horn, at the Westminster Disputation in 1559, "of the true Catholic Faith and maintain the verity thereof."[1] Similarly Archbishop Usher declares "We preach no new faith but the same Catholic Faith that ever hath been preached neither was it any part of our meaning to begin a new Church in these latter days of the world but to reform the old."[2] Dean Field also takes the same line as all the first Reformers in asserting that it is the Protestants generally who hold the true Catholic Faith since they have a common teaching which has been held in all ages. "If by Protestancy be meant the believing of all that and *that only* which they that are now termed Protestants do believe, and the professing of a dislike of such abuses and papal usurpations as they have cast off, it was in being long before Luther was born and all those Christian Catholic Churches wherein our fathers lived and died were Protestant Churches."[3]

[1] Foxe *Acts and Mon.*, VIII., 690.
[2] Sermon preached before James I. at Wanstead in 1624.
[3] *Of the Church*, II., 10.

Again the Reformers, Edwardine, Elizabethan and foreign, strongly emphasised the twofold aspect of the Church. Nowell, Hooker, and Rogers had carefully defined the distinction between the Visible and the Invisible Church, and the Caroline divines are equally clear on this point.

"The Church of God," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, "is a company of men and women professing the saving doctrine of Jesus Christ. This is the Church in the sight of *men*. But the professors of Christ's doctrine are but imperfectly and inchoatively the Church of God; but they who are indeed holy and obedient to Christ's laws in faith and manners . . . these are truly and perfectly the Church. Now they that do this are not known to be such by men, but only known to God; and therefore it is in a true sense an invisible Church not that there are two Churches or two Societies in separation from each other. No, these two Churches are but one Society, the one is within the other . . . the invisible Church ordinarily and regularly is part of the Visible, but yet that only part which is the true one, the rest but in common speaking the Church."[1] Bishop Sanderson defines the invisible Church as "the whole company of God's elect actually made members of Christ by virtue of an inward effectual calling to faith and godliness," while he distinguishes the *visible* or Catholic Christian Church as the whole company of all those throughout the world who by their doctrine and worship do outwardly make profession of the name of Christ."[2] Certainly neither the Caroline divines nor the Reformers would have followed Bishop Headlam in condemning the theory of an Invisible Church as destroying "the ideal of One Church."[3]

[1] *Dissuasive from Popery*, Pt. II., Bk. I., 1.
[2] Reprinted in *Two Treatises on the Church*, 175 (1901).
[3] *Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion*, 217.

The Caroline Divines and Episcopacy

When we turn to the Ministry we do undoubtedly find that the Caroline divines held a somewhat different view of it from that of the Elizabethan Reformers. While a careful examination of their opinions will not support Dean Hutton's claim that they regarded episcopal ordination as alone conveying "the right and power to minister in God's Name to the people,"[1] yet they expressly declared that which the Elizabethan formularies and bishops carefully refrain from saying, that episcopacy was not only the best and most expedient form of government but, as the ancient traditional Apostolic usage, it is *normally* necessary. They do not however create a *via media* position between the foreign non-episcopal Churches and the Church of Rome on this subject, because they justify or excuse the former on the strong plea *of necessity*. We never find them denying absolutely the validity of non-episcopal ministries. The Elizabethan Reformers had argued for Episcopacy as allowable merely on the plea of antiquity and expediency. Nothing they urged was laid down in Scripture as to the precise form of ministry, thus each National Church could adopt that form best suitable to its needs and condition. But Archbishop Bramhall places Episcopacy on far higher ground than this when he says "Whosoever doth *willingly* break the line of Apostolical Succession which is the very nerves and sinews of ecclesiastical unity and communion both with the present Church and with the Catholic symbolical Church of all successive ages, he is a schismatic." "As for our parts," he says, "we believe episcopacy to be at least an apostolical institution approved by Christ Himself in the Revelation, ordained in the infancy of Christianity as a remedy against schism, and we bless God we have a clear succession of it."[2] But in writing against Presbyterians

[1] At Sheffield Church Congress, 1922.

[2] *Works*, I., 112, 271.

and Separatists in his "Serpent Salve" Bramhall somewhat qualifies, if he does not actually contradict, this very definite statement concerning episcopal government, by urging the strong plea of necessity which many Protestant Churches could claim "which had lived under kings and bishops of another Communion, or had particular reasons why they could not continue or introduce bishops." "If any churches," he adds, "through necessity, or ignorance or new fangledness or coveteousness or practice of some persons have swerved from the Apostolical rule or primitive institution, the Lord may pardon them or supply the defect of man. It is charity to think well of our neighbours, but the chief reason is because I *do not make this way to be simply necessary*, but only shew what is safest, where so many Christians are of another mind. I know that there is great difference between a valid ordination and a regular ordination, and what some choice divines do write of case of necessity and for my part am apt to believe that God looks upon His people in mercy, and that there is a great latitude left to particular Churches in the constitution of their ecclesiastical regiment according to the exigence of time, place and persons so as order and His own institution be observed."[1]

In answering Richard Baxter, Bramhall definitely applies these principles to the case of the foreign non-episcopal Churches. "Episcopal divines," he tells him, "do not unchurch the Swedish, Danish, Bohemian Churches and many other churches in Polonia, Hungary, and those parts of the world, which have an ordinary uninterrupted succession of pastors, some by the name of Bishops, others under the name of seniors. They unchurch not the Lutheran Churches in Germany, who both assert Episcopacy in their Confessions, and have actual Superintendents in their practice. Episcopal

[1] *Works*, III., 476.

divines do not deny those Churches to be true Churches wherein salvation may be had."[1] But Bramhall, like the Elizabethan divines, fully believed in the "cujus regio ejus religio" principle "that by the laws of England civil and ecclesiastical we ought to have but *one* Church."[2] Consequently he warns Baxter that the case of the English Presbyterians in rejecting a lawful and Scriptural Episcopacy where it could be had was far different from that of the foreign Reformed Churches. "Their case" he tells him, "is not the same with those who labour under invincible necessity," and he urges him therefore to consider well "whether they have Ordination or not, or desert the general practice of the Universal Church for nothing, when they may clear it if they please."[3] But even so he concludes by agreeing with Bishop Andrewes in denying any desire to "unchurch" the non-episcopal Churches, and declares that "this mistake proceedeth from not distinguishing between the true nature and essence of a Church, which we do readily grant them, and the integrity and perfection of a Church which we cannot grant them without swerving from the judgment of the Catholic Church."[4] A similar careful distinction had been made by Bishop Joseph Hall who was a strenuous apologist for "Episcopacy by Divine right asserted." He condemned the English and Scotch Presbyterians for neglecting Episcopacy, but in dealing with the foreign Reformed Churches he rejoiced that there was no essential difference between them and the Church of England. "The only difference," he says, "is in the form of outward administration wherein also we are so far agreed as that we all profess this form not to be essential to the *being* of a Church though much importing the *well* or *better*

[1] *Works*, III., 517-8.
[2] *Works*, III., 374.
[3] *Works*, III., 518.
[4] *Works*, III., 518.

being of it."[1] He affirmed that "those Churches to whom this power and faculty (episcopacy) is denied, lose nothing of the true essence of a Church, though they miss something of their glory and perfection."[2] There is a wide gulf between such moderate language and the assertion that episcopal ordination is the only true qualification "for ministering in God's name to the people."

All the prominent Caroline divines took up practically the same position regarding the value and necessity of episcopal government *where it could be had*. Bishop Ferne of Chester is most severe on the separation of English sectaries from the National Church. "They are guilty," he affirms, "of wilful and causeless Schism in dividing from a National Church." He goes so far as to say that the Church of England stands midway between *them* and the Church of Rome, but in spite of their want of Episcopacy, he ranges the foreign Reformed Churches *with the Church of England* in this *via media* position. "We challenge," he says, "them (the English Sectaries) to show any popish corruption retained in our Liturgy and *might think it enough* to oppose the judgment of other Reformed Churches approving it, with which they might rest satisfied." Discussing the foreign Reformed Churches he says "There is a wide difference between *wanting* or *not having* Bishops *and casting them out* when they have them." "These Churches had but tumultuary reformations and no marvel then, if they were not fully regular in their constitution. Besides this all the foreign Churches approved Bishops in this Church and their most learned men acknowledged a want in their own, excusing it as proceeding of necessity rather than choice . . . their case (the English dissenters) is not the same with that of the Churches abroad."[3]

[1] The Peacemaker, *Works*, V., 56.
[2] *Defence of Humble Remonstrance* IX., 690.
[3] Brogden, *Catholic Safeguards*, I., 260-71.

Dean Sherlock bears similar testimony concerning this plea of necessity justifying a non-episcopal ministry. In his "Vindication of some Protestant principles of Church Unity and catholic communion" he says, "In case of necessity, when bishops cannot be had a Church may be a truly Catholic Church and such as we may and ought to communicate with, *without bishops*, in vindication of some foreign Reformed Churches who have none, and therefore I do not make Episcopacy so absolutely necessary to catholic Communion as to unchurch all Churches which have it not. . . . The Church of England does not deny, but that in case of necessity the ordination of presbyters may be valid."[1] There is a complete divergence between this assertion and that which declares that "a priest cannot be ordained without a bishop, and the Holy Eucharist cannot be consecrated without a priest, any more than a man can see without an eye."[2]

No Separation from Foreign Reformed Churches on Episcopacy.

Such statements as these are surely sufficient evidence to show that the Caroline divines, even with their strong belief in the necessity of Episcopacy, made no attempt to separate from the foreign Reformed Churches or to create a *via media* position on this question. But the clear advice given by Bishop Cosin when abroad is conclusive proof of this fact. In a letter to Mr. Cordel, which has often been quoted, he warns him of the danger to the "Protestant party" if any breach is made between the English and French Reformed Churches. He not only asserted the validity of their Sacraments and advised English Churchmen when abroad to communicate with them, but he showed clearly that the English Church took up no middle position between them and Rome when he added

[1] *cf.* Gibson's *Preservative*, III., 410-432.
[2] Darwell Stone, *Faith of an Eng. Catholic*, p. 74.

"There is no prohibition of our Church against it *as there is against our communicating with the papists* and that well grounded upon Scripture and the will of God."[1] We may safely affirm that no modern "Anglo-Catholic" of any degree would endorse such a distinction as this.

In spite of their "higher" theory of Episcopacy the Caroline theologians did not differ in practice from the Elizabethan in their treatment of, and recognition of the Foreign Reformed Churches. Consequently we are not surprised to find that in the Caroline, as well as in the earlier period, we come across cases, well authenticated, of the admission of foreign non-episcopal ministers to cures of souls in the Church of England. It is impossible without ignoring clear evidence and employing an unwarrantable amount of special pleading to disprove the existence of these cases, and thus to assert, as some do, that the English Church has never authoritatively recognised the validity of non-episcopal ministries within her borders.[2] Bishop Cosin states distinctly that he himself had known ministers of the French Reformed Churches who had been admitted to cures of souls by Anglican bishops without re-ordination, stating that a law was made which allowed of such ordination in the English Church (XIII. Eliz. cap. xii.); and that all they were required to do was to consent to the established religion and subscribe the Articles. He reminded Dr. Gunning that although the Church of England had admitted German and French (Presbyterian) ministers several times in public administration of the sacraments and other divine offices among us "yet she had never, except in one special case of earnest request, reordained them."[3]

In a recently discovered letter of Bishop Cosin's,

[1] *Works*, IV., 401.

[2] *cf.* Denny, *The English Church and the Ministry of the Reformed Churches.*

[3] *Works*, IV., 401, 448.

we get clear evidence that he adopted the same apology for ordination by presbyters as Saravia had advanced, namely " that Popish bishops having turned to idolatry ; orthodox presbyters may ordain instead of them, since the power of ecclesiastical or sacred Order is equal and the same in all those whom we call presbyters," and therefore as " all presbyters in Cases of necessity may absolve and reconcile penitents, a thing in the ordinary Course appropriated unto bishops. Why not by the same reason ordain presbyters and deacons in Cases of like Necessity ? If Bishops become Enemies to God and true Religion, in Case of such necessity as the Care and Government is devolved to the presbyters remaining Catholics ; so the Duty of ordaining such as are to succeed them in the work of the Ministry, pertains to them likewise." " Who then ? " he asks, " dare condemn all those worthy ministers of God that were ordained by presbyters in sundry Churches of the World ; at such times as Bishops in those parts where they lived oppose themselves against the Truth of God and persecuted such as professed it ? " Cosin then goes on to say that *necessary* things in Scripture are " perfectly taught," but that matters of ecclesiastical Polity are not in this category, so that " much may be requisite which Scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught become unrequisite, sometimes because we need not to use it, sometimes also because we cannot. In which respect for mine own part," he concludes " although I see that certain Reformed Churches, the Scottish and especially the French, have not that which agreeth best with the sacred Scripture, I mean the Government that is by Bishops, inasmuch as both these Churches are fallen under a different kind of regiment which to remedy it is for the one altogether too late, and too soon for the other, during this present Affliction and trouble, this their Defect and Imperfection I had rather lament in such case than exagitate; Considering that men oftentimes without any fault of their own

may be driven to want that kind of Policie or Regiment which is best, and content themselves with that which either irremediable Error of former times or the Necessity of the present hath cast upon them."[1]

Bishop Joseph Hall bears similar testimony declaring that he had known " more than one " of these foreign Reformed divines who had " enjoyed spiritual promotions and livings without any exception against the lawfulness of their calling."[2]

Lord Clarendon also confirms these statements when, in commenting on the clause in the Act of Uniformity 1662 requiring episcopal orders for *all* ministering in the Church of England, he says " This was new for there had been many and at present there were some who possessed benefices with cure of souls and other ecclesiastical promotions, who had never received orders but in France or Holland, and these men must now receive new ordination which had always been held unlawful in the Church."[3]

Canon Mason does his best to discount the value of this evidence, but in the end he has to admit that " there were a few instances of the admission of men in foreign presbyterian orders to English cures."[4] It is however very difficult to see how the facts can warrant his concluding verdict that " the Church of England in its corporate capacity did not sanction them nor did the law of the realm." (510). For when a Canon of Convocation expressly orders clergy to pray for the Presbyterian Church of Scotland as a branch of " Christ's Holy Catholic Church," (Canon 55 of 1603), and when bishops generally admit presbyterian divines into cures of souls, and when an Archbishop of Canterbury officially licenses a Scotch Presbyterian Minister " to celebrate the divine offices and minister the Sacra-

[1] Quoted Fletcher, *Some Troubles of Archbishop Sancroft* (1926)
[2] *Works*, IX., 161.
[3] *Continuation of the Life*, 152 (1759).
[4] *Ch. of Eng. and Episcopacy*, 509.

ments in the Province of Canterbury,"[1] it can scarcely be said that the corporate capacity of the Church is unaffected?

The Scotch Church

But the clearest evidence for the authorisation of presbyterian orders in an Episcopal Church (and one deriving its Orders from the Church of England) is furnished by the action of the Church of Scotland both after 1610 and 1661, when episcopacy was re-established there. For the Scotch Episcopal Church made no attempt to reordain the existing presbyterian ministers, but allowed them to remain in their parishes and continue their ministrations without question. It is amazing that Canon Mason can argue that such a policy was merely an "expedient" which involved "no recognition of presbyterian Orders," since "there was no scheme for their continuance in the future" (*u.s.*, p. 511). We certainly cannot imagine an *Episcopal* Church definitely "providing" for the continuance of presbyterian ordination, but to authorise its clergy, so ordained, to administer Sacraments to parish congregations is surely a recognition of Presbyterian Orders?, even if it was sanctioned purely as a "method of getting rid of them." We cannot imagine an "Anglo-Catholic" who declares that "the Holy Eucharist cannot be consecrated without an episcopally ordained priest," regarding it in this light, even as a temporary expedient. Not many years ago Bishop Gore declared at a Church Congress that "once a non-episcopal minister was allowed to celebrate the Sacrament at an Anglican altar the Church of England would be rent in twain." Dr. Gore would scarcely assert that there was no recognition of non-episcopal Orders if this took place not merely as an isolated or occasional act but for a number of years as part of the regular parochial organisation of the Church?

It is interesting that this Scotch "expedient is

[1] Strype *Grindal*, I., 402.

identical with the proposal made by Bishop Headlam as a solution to Home Reunion, but Dr. Headlam frankly admitted that his scheme involved a "mutual *recognition* of Orders."[1] Moreover, statements made by prominent Caroline divines will not justify us in arguing that the new rule enforcing exclusive episcopal ordination in the Church of England (in 1662) implied a changed attitude as regards the intrinsic validity of presbyterian ministries. It was instead, as clearly stated at the time of the passing of the Act, a rule laid down by the Church of England "for her own children only." It did not affect the status of the foreign Reformed Churches. It was argued at the time that the plea of necessity could not be urged in *England* as it could abroad, and therefore only the National rule of episcopacy could be allowed for Englishmen, while foreigners, if they wished for preferment in England ought in reason to be willing "to conform and be subject to the laws of the kingdom."[2]

This interpretation of the meaning of the Act is borne out by the clear language of Bishop Fleetwood, who writes as late as 1712. After referring to the fact that in the Church of England before 1661, "we had many ministers from Scotland, France, and the Low Countries who were ordained by presbyters only and not bishops, and were instituted into benefices with cure . . . and were never reordained"; he goes on to say "The case is now somewhat altered. If a foreign presbyter desire to hold a benefice in the Church of England he must indeed be ordained according to the English form." "The Church of England," he continues, "may make what laws and rules she thinks fit for those of her own Communion but she cannot invalidate the orders and ministrations of other people."[3] It is evident that the new rule was not intended to

[1] *Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion*, p. 306.
[2] *Contin. of Life of Lord Clarendon*, 152 (1759).
[3] *Works*, 555.

create a *via media* position for the Church of England as regards the foreign non-episcopal ministries, for we find the later, equally with the earlier, Caroline divines professing their willingness to recognise such ministries. Archbishop Usher had declared his willingness to communicate both with the Dutch and French Churches, since he "loved and honoured them as true members of the Church Universal."[1]

Similarly Archbishop Sharp in 1702 declared that "if he were abroad he would willingly communicate with the Protestant Churches where he should happen to be."[2]

The learned Joseph Bingham writing in 1706 in relation to the French Reformed Church argued that different rites in distinct National Churches make no difference in the Faith nor ought to hinder the members of one Church from joining in communion with another."[3] A little later Archbishop Wake practically repeats Bishop Andrewes' verdict, when he condemns the "mad writers" who would deny the validity of non-episcopal Sacraments, or who would "cut off" their members "from our Communion."[4]

Conclusion

In view therefore of the evidence available it would seem impossible to assert that the Caroline divines, any more than their Elizabethan forerunners, intended to deny the intrinsic validity of non-episcopal ministries or to create any *via media* position in relation to their Reformed brethren on the Continent. They on the other hand definitely ranged themselves on the side of the Reformed Churches as defending in common with them "the interests of the Protestant religion," as against the arrogant claims and false teaching of the

[1] Elrington's *Life of Usher*, 258.
[2] *Life*, II., 28.
[3] *Works*, IX, 283.
[4] Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* V., 169.

Roman Church. It is this position which creates such a gulf between their ideals and outlook and those of modern "Anglo-Catholics." Whereas Dr. Darwell Stone tells us that the latter regard Reunion with Rome as of "chief importance," and "attach most value to such a reconciliation as will make Western Catholics one united Church under the primacy of the Pope."[1] Archbishop Sancroft, a prominent Caroline "Anglo-Catholic," longed for "a blessed union of all Reformed Churches both at home and abroad" against the Romanists, whom he described as "our common enemies."[2]

We may say also that the Anglican sub-committee appointed to consider the status of the existing Free Church Ministries, faithfully interpreted not only the spirit of our Anglican formularies, but also that of the representative Caroline theologians, when they declared that such "ministries which imply a sincere intention to preach Christ's Word and administer the Sacraments as Christ ordained, and to which authority to do so has been solemnly given by the Church concerned, are real ministers of Christ's Word and Sacraments in the Universal Church."[3]

[1] *Faith of an Eng. Catholic*, 21.
[2] D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*, I., 325.
[3] Joint Conference Report, July 6., 1923.

INDEX

Adoration, 59, 60, 61, 169, 170, 171, 174, 175, 178.
Admonition to Parliament, The, 86.
Advertisements, The, 122-9, 132.
Alb, 110, 114, 116-119, 121, 126, 130, 132.
Aldrich, Dean, 33, 179.
Altars, 72, 73, 136, 137.
Alteration of Religion, Device for, 24.
Andrewes, Bp., 31, 57, 70, 75, 95, 170, 171, 185, 193.
Anglican Church—See England, Church of,
"Anglo Catholics," 15, 62, 161, 165, 166, 170, 175, 188, 194.
Apostles, The, 18, 63, 66-8, 155, 157, 163.
Apostles' Creed, The, 17, 76, 156, 159.
Apocrypha, The, 26.
"Apology of the Church of England," The, 34, 67, 154.
Article XXVIII. of 1563, 13, 29, 33, 37-8, 42-3, 46-54, 59, 136.
Article XXIX, 46-8, 50, 52-3.
Articles, The Eleven, 39, 40, 72
Articles, The Forty-Two, 11, 21, 29, 36, 39, 50.
Articles, The Lambeth, 41.
Articles, The Ten, 147.
Articles, The Thirty Nine, 7, 14, 37-8, 41, 43-4, 46, 59-67, 77-81, 85, 87, 88, 94-6, 107, 147, 148, 149, 152, 156, 188.
Articles, The Thirty Eight, 40.
Athanasian Creed, The, 17,
Augsburg Confession, The, 40, 79, 81.
Augustine, St., 47, 58, 77, 155.
Aylmer, Bp., 103.

Bacon, Lord Keeper, 13.
Baker, Provost, 117.
Bancroft, Archbp., 74, 92, 94, 95, 102, 104.
Baptism, 18, 33, 65, 66, 133, 136, 152, 170.
Baxter, R., 27, 130, 184, 185.
Beale, R., 121.
Becon, T., 83.
Belgic Confession, The, 16.
Bellarmine Card., 70, 75, 146, 170.
Benediction, 169.
Bennett, W. J. E., 180.
Bentham, 128.
Beveridge, Bp., 177.
Beza, T., 34, 93, 102, 127.
Bidding Prayer, The, 80.
Bilson, Bp., 57,
Bingham, J., 17, 18, 130, 193.
Birt., Dom., 14.
Bishops' Book, The, 147.
Black Rubric, The, 27-9, 31-2, 60.
Bohemia, Church of, 184.
Bohemia Confession of, 16, 60.
Bonner, Bp., 82.
Bradford, J., 47, 63.
Bramhall, Archbp., 82, 159, 163, 167, 172, 174, 175, 183, 184, 185.

Brentius, 42.
Browne, Bp. Harold, 53.
Bull, Bp., 162, 163, 166, 176. 177.
Bullinger, H., 19-22, 34, 40, 42, 43, 49, 50, 68, 69, 82, 86, 108, 118, 127, 137.
Bullingham, Bp., 117.
Bucer, M., 22, 173.
Burnet, Bp., 96.

Calfhill J., 139.
Calvin, J., 17, 21, 22, 23, 41, 53, 54, 57, 82, 89, 90, 93, 98, 173.
Calvinism, 41.
Canons, The, of 1571, 123, 124, 147-9.
Canons, The, of 1604, 92, 124, 125, 128, 130, 133, 149, 152.
Canons, The, of 1606, 71.
Canons, The, of 1640, 75, 165.
Caroline Divines, The, 10, 150-1, 153, 159-60, 161, 164, 167, 169-171, 176-7, 179-80, 182-3, 186-7, 192-3.
Cartwright, T., 30, 57, 86, 88, 89, 92, 100, 118, 138.
Catechism, The, 54, 152.
Catholic Church, The, 15, 18, 35-38, 63-4, 66-7, 69, 71, 76-8, 82, 84, 87, 90-2, 94, 146, 160-2, 163, 165-6, 185.
Cecil, Lord Burleigh, 13, 14, 24, 25, 28, 44, 46, 47, 97, 99, 115, 119, 124.
Ceremonies, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 43, 49, 87, 94, 106, 115, 123, 128, 129, 135.
Chasubles, 110, 111, 117, 121, 122, 126, 128, 132.
Cheyney, Bp., 43, 48.
Chrism, 136.
Chrisom, The, 136-137.
Church Congress, Sheffield, The, 183.
Church, The Invisible, 77-80, 182.
Church, The Visible, 77-9, 81, 182.
Churches, The Continental, 84, 93, 151.
Churches, The Swiss, 82.
Churches, The Lutheran, 16, 184.
Churches, Swedish, 184.
Churchmen, English, 12, 15, 25, 62, 75.
Clarendon, Lord, 190.
Communion Service, 27, 30, 36, 65, 130, 132, 136, 171.
Communion Table, 114, 125, 137.
Consubstantiation, 76, 168.
Convocation, 14, 24, 28, 35, 44, 46, 48, 56, 124, 130, 148, 153, 190.
Cooper, Bp., 93.
Copes, 109, 110, 112, 114, 116, 117, 119, 121, 124, 125, 127, 141.
Cordell, Mr., 187.
Cosin, Bp., 96, 132, 152, 167, 173, 174, 178, 187-9.
Cosin, R., 124.
Coverdale, Bp., 65, 127.
Cox. Bp., 22, 49, 87, 91, 125, 127, 137.
Cranmer, Archbp., 15, 19, 21, 24, 30, 37, 44, 47, 51, 54-5, 71-2, 78, 83, 153, 156, 165.
Cranmer's "Catechism," 19, 20-1.
Creeds, The Three, 16, 147, 153, 156, 157, 160.
Crucifixes, 137, 138, 139.
Cyprian, Bp., 52.

Daille, 18.
Decades, "Bullinger's," 35.
De L'Angle, M., 94.
Declaration on Kneeling, The, 28
Denmark, Church of, 65, 151, 184.
Dixon, Canon, 35.
Dodd, J., 140.

Du Moulin, P., 18, 95.
Duperron, Card., 58.
Dutch Reformed Church, The, 92, 101, 102, 193.

Eastern Churches, 166, 175.
Edinburgh Missionary Conference, The, 9.
Edward VI., 11, 13, 24, 25, 27, 37, 49, 55, 61, 68, 82, 95, 107, 109, 110, 127, 142.
Edwardine Religion, 12.
Eeles, Mr., 145, 149, 160.
Elizabeth, Queen, 9, 13, 14, 27, 34, 37, 49, 61, 97, 115, 136, 138, 139, 141, 145.
Elizabeth, Queen, Her religious policy, 12, 14, 127, 128.
Elizabethan Settlement, The, 14, 18, 19, 23, 33, 36, 40, 54, 61, 62, 68, 71, 77, 105, 107, 135, 150, 168.
England, Church of, 9, 12, 17, 27, 37, 49, 68, 70, 75, 80, 83, 87, 93, 94, 96, 101, 104, 107, 111, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 158, 165, 167, 173, 185-8, 190-2.
English Church Union, 61, 111, 168, 169.
English Church Union, Declaration of Faith of, 168.
English Reformation, The, 9, 11, 12, 16, 19, 34, 40, 68, 80, 84.
Episcopacy, 18, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88-94, 99, 101, 105, 183-5, 187-188.
Eucharist, 18-21, 33, 37, 40, 42-4, 47, 48, 50, 51-61, 65, 72, 90, 111, 133, 136, 165, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173, 176, 178, 179, 187, 191.

Fathers, The, 15, 16, 18, 46, 56, 67, 75, 93, 149, 154, 156, 157, 160, 173, 176.
Ferne, Bp., 151, 164, 186.
Ferrar, N., 75.
Field, Dean, 154-6, 166, 181.
Fisher, The Jesuit, 156.
"Five Bishops," The, 120, 135.
Fleetwood, Bp., 96, 192.
Foreign Reformers—See Continental.
"Former Confession of Helvetia," The, 16.
Foxe, J., 55, 86.
Francis I. of France, 54.
"Free Willers," The, 41.
French Reformed Church, The, 17, 18, 34, 66, 90, 96, 152, 187, 188, 189, 193.
Fulke, Dr., 69.
Frere, Bishop, of, 12, 13, 23, 27, 31, 33, 35, 61, 67, 71, 72, 88, 91, 96, 103, 104, 107, 115, 118, 119, 121, 126, 148.
Fuller, T., 100.

Gardiner, Bp., 82, 112.
General Councils, 16, 69, 146, 147, 148, 149, 156, 157, 160.
Geneva, Church of, 98, 99.
Genevan, Party, The, 14, 23, 27, 33.
Gibson, Bp., 7, 13, 23, 24, 37, 42, 45, 51-53, 85, 88, 116, 145.
Gore, Bp., 62, 191.
Great Parliamentary Debate, The, 20, 47.
Grindal, Archbp., 29, 42, 44, 50, 57, 61, 74, 86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 97, 105, 115, 118, 120, 123, 127, 137, 140, 141.
Gualter, R., 34, 86, 87, 125.
Guest, Bp., 25, 28, 33, 45, 46, 47, 48, 115, 119.
Gunning, Dr., 188.

Habits, The, 43, 49, 85, 86, 99, 114, 121, 128.

Halifax, Lord, 111.
Hall, Bp., J., 93, 96, 152, 185, 190.
Hampton Court Conference, 138, 154.
Harding, 91.
Hardwick, Archdeacon, 41.
"Harmony of Protestant Confessions," The, 152.
Headlam, Bp., 150, 182, 192.
Heath, Archbp., 20.
Helvetia, Former Confession of, 54.
Henchman, Bp., 133.
Henry VIII., 26.
"Hierurgia Anglicana," 141.
High Commission Court, The 147, 148.
Holy Communion, 111, 116, 119, 122, 126, 130, 131, 134.
Homburg, Synod, of, 59.
Homilies, 50, 64, 65, 116, 152, 166.
Hooper, Bp., 21, 59, 63, 83.
Hooker, R., 32, 41, 57, 69, 70, 74, 79, 94, 100, 154, 162, 182.
Hooker, R., On Mass, 74.
Hooker, R., On Church of Rome, 69-70.
Horn, Bp., 14, 29, 34, 35, 42, 44, 50, 86, 118, 129, 181.
Humphrey, L., 49, 50, 86, 87, 127.
Hungary, Church of, 66, 184.
Hutton, Dean, 84, 88, 90, 183.

Images, 44, 137-40.
Institution of Christian Man, 77.
Interpretations, The, 115.
Invocation of Saints, 165.

Jackson, Dean, 71, 158, 159.
James I., 138, 162, 181.
Jerome, St., 83.
Jesuit Priests, 97.
Jewel, Bp., 14, 15, 34, 42, 43, 56, 67, 69, 73, 91, 128, 137, 139, 154.
Jonas, Justus, 20.

Keble, J., 85.
Kidd, Dr., 145, 147, 148, 153, 169.
King's Book, The, 147.
Kneeling at Communion, 28, 29, 30, 31, 100.
Knox, J., 22, 28, 30, 91.

"Latter Confession of Helvetia," The, 54, 60, 66, 78.
Latimer, Bp., 52, 163.
Laud, Archbp., 117, 141, 156.
Lectionary, The, 25.
L'Estrange, H., 32.
Lingard, J., 140.
Litany, The, 25, 26.
Liturgy, Calvin's Genevan, 27.
Lord's Supper,—See Eucharist.
Luther, M., 19, 43, 64, 173, 181.
Lutherans, 40, 48, 55, 57, 59.
Lutheran Churches, 59, 81.
Lutheran Churches, Confession of, 21, 48.
Lutheranism, 20, 41, 43.

Machyn, 73.
Marian Clergy, The, 14, 117, 120, 140.
Marian Party, The, 12, 33.
Martial, J., 69, 139.
Martyr, Peter, 34, 57, 90.
Mary Queen of Scots, 91, 138.
Mary I., Queen, 108.
Mason, Canon, 190, 191.
Mass, The Private, 71-2.
Mass, The Sacrifice of, 39, 62, 71-5, 91, 110, 111, 118, 136, 140, 165, 168, 169, 174, 176, 177.

Meaux, Bp. of, 163.
Milletiere, de la, 174.
" Minimum Use," 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 133.
Ministry, The, 77, 81, 82, 89, 98, 99, 105, 181, 183, 189.
Ministry, Presbyterian, 83, 87, 88, 92, 101-5.
Moberly, Bp., 45.
Morrison, J., 97.
Morton, J., 102.
Moule, Bp., H.C.G., 10.

Newman, Card., 76.
Nonconformists, 131, 153, 186.
Non-Episcopal Ministries, 96, 97, 98, 100, 104, 184, 185, 187, 191, 193.
Non Jurors, 132.
Northern Rebellion, The, 137.
Nowell, Dean, 23, 56, 78, 182.

Ockham, 155.
Ordinal, The, 77, 80, 83.
Ordination, 17, 84, 95, 97, 102, 105, 183, 184, 185, 191.
" Ornaments of the Church," The, 108, 110, 112, 119, 120, 123, 129, 135, 137, 141.
Ornaments Rubric, 106, 109, 110, 111, 116, 122, 123, 125, 126, 130-4.

Papists, 19, 38, 49, 64, 69, 74, 90, 91, 96, 97, 106, 138, 140, 162, 164, 165, 172, 174, 176, 179, 188, 194.
Parker, Archbp., 34, 38, 40, 44-8, 51, 55, 57, 67, 71, 72, 88, 89, 112, 115, 118, 123, 124, 125, 127, 136, 137.
Parker, J., 126.
Parkhurst, Bp., 43, 91, 108, 116, 128.
Pearson, Bp., 159.
Perron, Card., 171.
Pierce, Dr., 164.
Pilkington, Bp., 73, 138.
Poissy Colloquy of, 90.
Poland Church of, 66, 184.
Pope, The, 26, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69, 70, 74, 76, 194.
Prayer Book, The, of 1549, 22, 25, 26-7, 59, 110, 112, 117, 120, 126, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 137, 141.
Prayer Book, The, of 1552, 11-12, 22, 25-9, 33, 108, 109, 135, 136, 141, 145.
Prayer Book, The, of 1559, 13, 14, 24, 27, 30-1, 33, 36, 61, 107, 116, 120, 126, 136, 137, 145.
Prayer Book, The, of 1662, 25, 32, 61, 129, 133, 134, 136.
Prayer Book, Baxter's, 27.
Prayer Book, The Latin of 1560, 109.
Prayer Book, Puritan or Middleburgh, 27.
Predestination, 41, 70.
Presbyterians, 87, 88, 91, 104, 183, 185, 191.
Presence, The Corporal, 32-3, 43, 50, 52, 55, 57.
Presence, The Figurative, 37, 53, 58.
Presence, The Real Objective, 20-1, 26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 37, 40, 45-7, 49, 50, 55, 56, 90, 169, 170, 173, 177, 179, 180.
Presence, The Real Spiritual, 51-6, 58, 90, 168, 173, 174, 175, 179, 180.
Protestant Churches, The, 150, 151, 153, 181, 184, 193.
Protestants, The, 106, 108, 151, 157, 172, 181.
Privy Council, The, 123, 180.
" Proviso," The, 108-13, 115-18, 120, 123, 130-131, 135, 136-137.

Purgatory, 40, 165-7.
Purchas Judgment, 123.
Puritans, The, 17, 26, 32, 42, 49, 50, 75, 85-7, 92, 99, 121, 125, 127, 129, 130, 133, 138.
Pusey, Dr. E. B., 158.
Pyx, 117, 136, 137, 141, 171.

Readers, 104.
Rebels of the West, The, 60.
Reformers, The Anglican, 15, 19, 22, 24, 53, 64, 77, 78, 81, 82, 84, 90, 107, 135, 146, 164, 165, 167, 169, 181, 182.
Reformers, The Continental, 11, 16, 19, 24, 37, 61-2, 64, 65, 71-2, 75, 77, 82, 88, 90, 94, 96, 97, 146, 152, 168, 181, 182, 190, 192.
Reformers, The Edwardine, 19, 23, 25, 35, 37-8, 44, 47, 51-3, 55, 62, 63, 67-8, 70-1, 182.
Reformers, The Elizabethan, 11, 23, 29, 35, 38, 55, 68, 71-2, 75, 77, 88, 94, 111, 151, 182, 183, 185.
Reformed Churches, The, 10, 16, 23, 50, 59, 81-4, 95, 96, 99, 102, 111, 150, 152, 153, 160, 161, 173, 185, 186, 187, 188, 193, 194.
Reformatio Legum, The, 81, 149.
Reservation, 59, 60, 61, 169, 171, 172, 174, 178.
Rich, Lord, 103.
Ridley, Bp., 20, 24, 37, 51, 52, 63, 112.
Ridsdale Judgment, 123.
Rogers, T., 79, 81, 94, 95, 182.
Romanists, 47.
Rome, Church of, 18, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75, 76, 92, 111, 140, 146, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 172, 177, 183, 186, 194.
Royal Commissioners, The, 112-115, 117, 124, 137.
Royal Injunctions, 113, 114, 115, 122, 124, 129, 132, 136, 138.
Rule of Faith, The, 146, 153, 156, 157, 159, 160.

Sacraments, 32, 52, 61, 66, 70, 81, 84, 85, 97, 115, 120, 122, 124, 133, 174, 187, 191, 193, 194.
Sampson, Dean, 49, 50, 86, 87, 127, 140.
Sancroft, Archbp., 130, 133, 153, 194.
Sanderson, Bp., 150, 164, 182.
Sandys, Archbp., 23, 38, 56, 74, 87, 98, 99, 112, 113, 127, 138, 139.
Saravia, A., 70, 101, 102, 189.
Sarum Pontifical, The, 111.
Savoy, Church of, 66.
Savoy Conference, The, 27, 31, 32.
Saxony, Church of, 151.
Saxony, Confession of, 60.
Scotch Episcopal Church, The, 191.
Scotland, Church of, 66, 90, 92, 93, 95, 189, 190, 191.
Scotus, Dean, 155.
Scriptures, 16, 17, 35, 46, 56, 68, 69, 74, 91, 104, 106, 145, 146, 147-149, 153-6, 160, 163, 173, 177, 183, 189.
Scudamore, W. E., 45.
Separatists, 104, 184.
Sharp, Archbp., 193.
Sheffield Church Congress, The, 84, 183.
Sherlock, Dean, 187.
Sibbes, R., 158.
Sign of the Cross, 85, 152.
Simler, J., 43.
Somerset Protector, 20.
Spalato Archbp. of, 102.

Sparrow, Bp., 130.
Staley, V., 126.
Stillingfleet, Bp., 159.
Stone, Dr. D., 111, 168, 169, 172, 194.
Strype, 13, 14, 24, 25, 38, 40, 48, 95, 98, 127.
Supremacy, Act of, 1559, 26, 147.
Surplice, 98, 109, 110, 116, 117, 118, 120, 122, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133.
Sutcliffe, Dean, 119.

Talbot, Bp., 9.
Taylor, Bp., J., 58, 157, 158, 166, 168, 171, 173, 175, 182.
Theodoret, Bp., 171.
Thorndike, H., 164, 166, 177, 178.
Tomlinson, J. T., 113.
Tonniens, Synod of, 18.
Tractarians, The, 84.
Traheron, B., 20.
Transubstantiation, 19, 20, 21, 37, 168, 173, 177.
Travers, W., 70, 99, 100, 101, 103.
Trent, Council of, 61, 146, 178.
Troubles at Frankfort, The, 22.
Tunicle, 110, 114, 117, 118, 126, 132.
Tunstall, Bp., 137.

Ubiquitarianism, 41, 42, 43.
Ulmis, John ab, 19, 20, 22.
Uniformity Act of 1549, 14, 28, 107.
Uniformity Act of 1552, 107.
Uniformity Act of 1559, 24-6, 107, 108, 109, 115, 116, 118, 121, 123, 130, 135, 136.
Uniformity Act of 1662, 133, 190.
Usher, Archbp., 83, 161, 181, 193.
Usher, R. G., 92.

Vestments, 111, 112, 114, 116-9, 120, 127-9, 131, 132, 134, 165.
"Via Media," position, The, 12, 14, 18, 36, 42, 54, 58, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 75, 77, 90, 91, 105, 111, 131, 149-51, 153, 157, 159-60, 165, 169, 172-3, 183, 186-7, 193.
Villiers, 100.
Vincentius Lirinensis, 158.
Visitation, The Royal, of 1559, 13, 112, 113, 118, 119, 141.

Wake, Archbp., 193.
Walton, Isaac, 158.
Wesley, John, 104.
Westminster Disputation, The, 33, 35, 106, 107, 181.
Whitgift, Archbp., 30, 41, 57, 74, 88, 89, 93, 100, 118, 121, 123, 138.
Whittingham, Dean W., 98, 99, 100.
Wittenberg, Concord of, 59.
William III., 153.
Wolfius, 34.
Words of Delivery, 25, 26, 30, 31, 36, 51.
Wordsworth, Bp., Chr., 76.
Wren, Bp., 31, 122, 124, 130.
Wright, R., 103, 104.
Wurtemburg, Confession of, 17, 60, 81.

Zanchius, 118, 141.
Zwingle, U., 54, 82.
Zwinglianism, 37.

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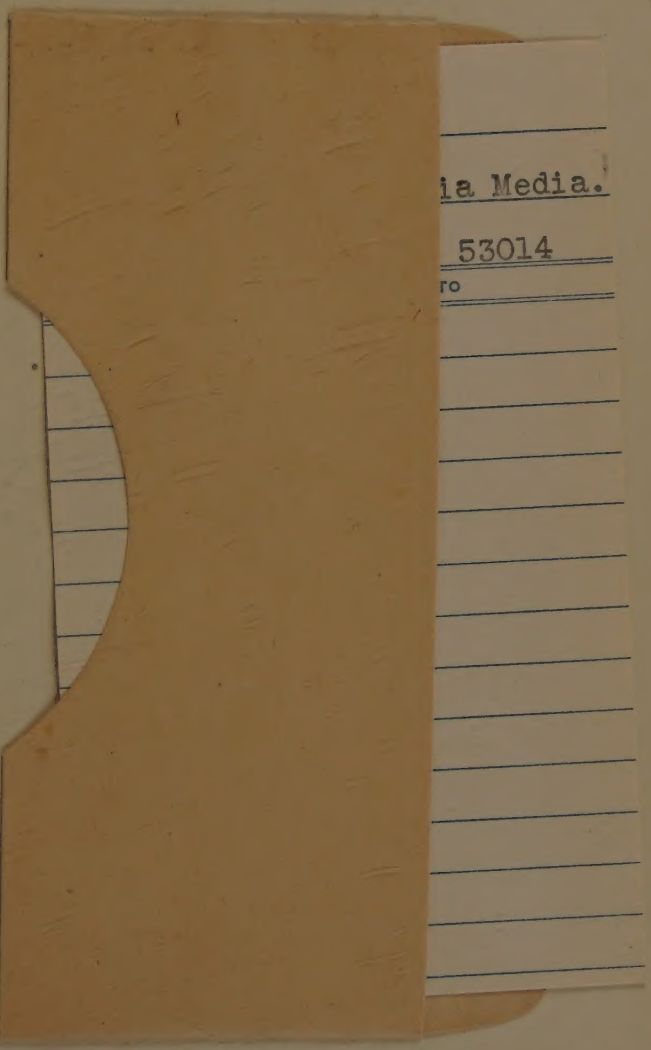
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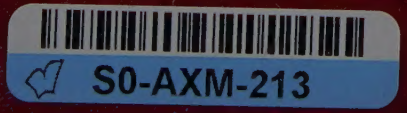
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